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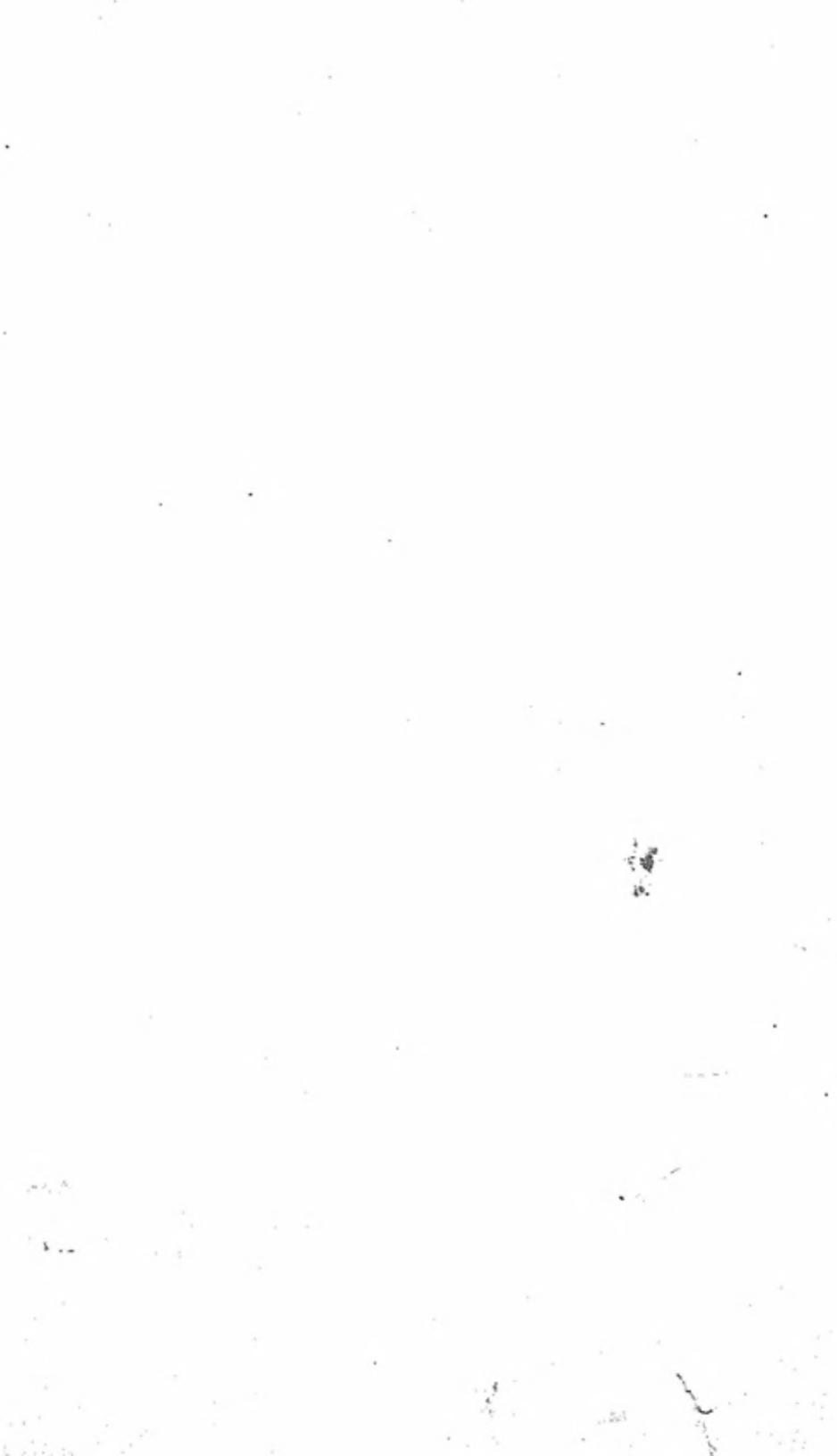


202

LECTURES ON ETHNOGRAPHY







# LECTURES ON ETHNOGRAPHY



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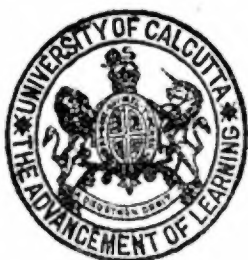
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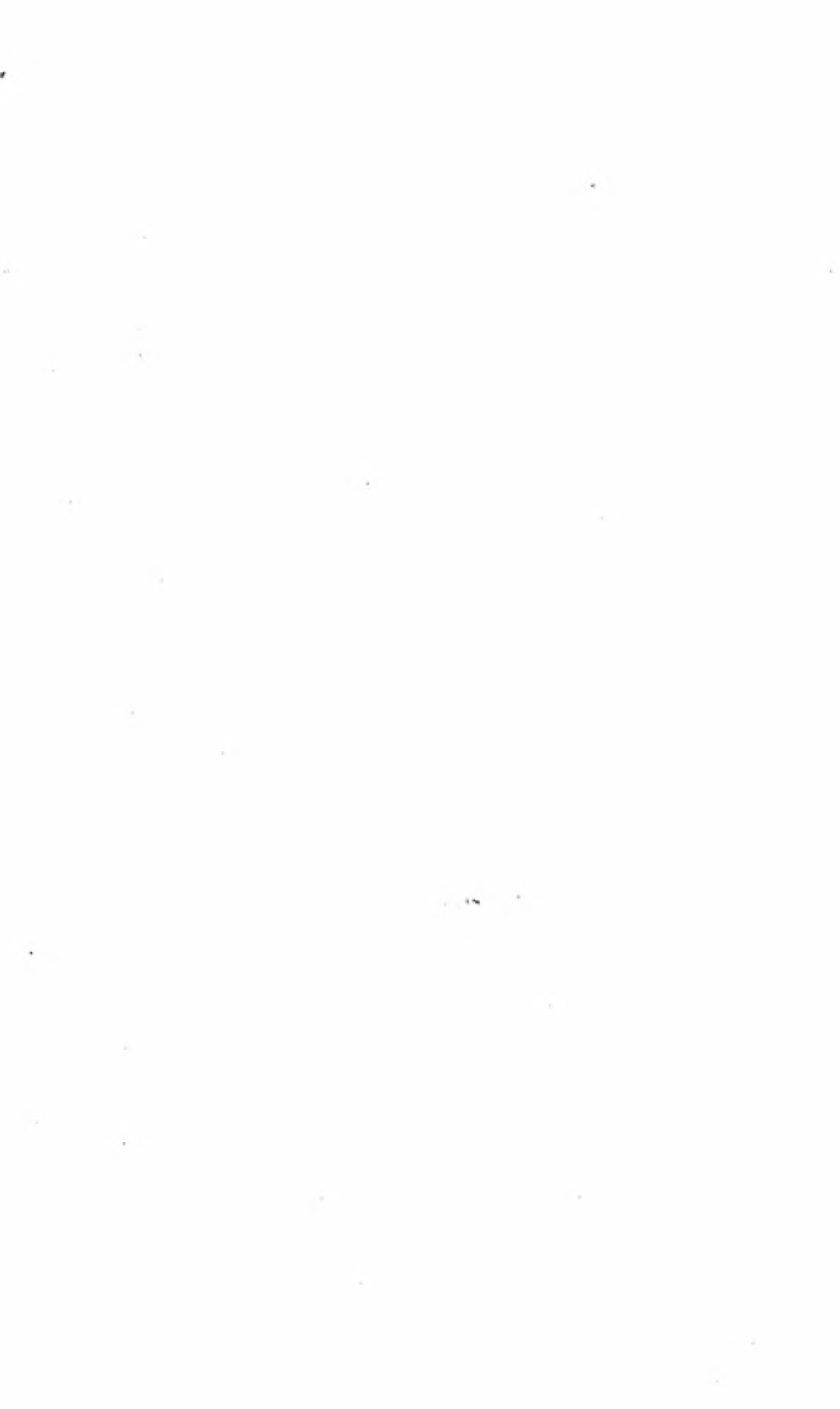
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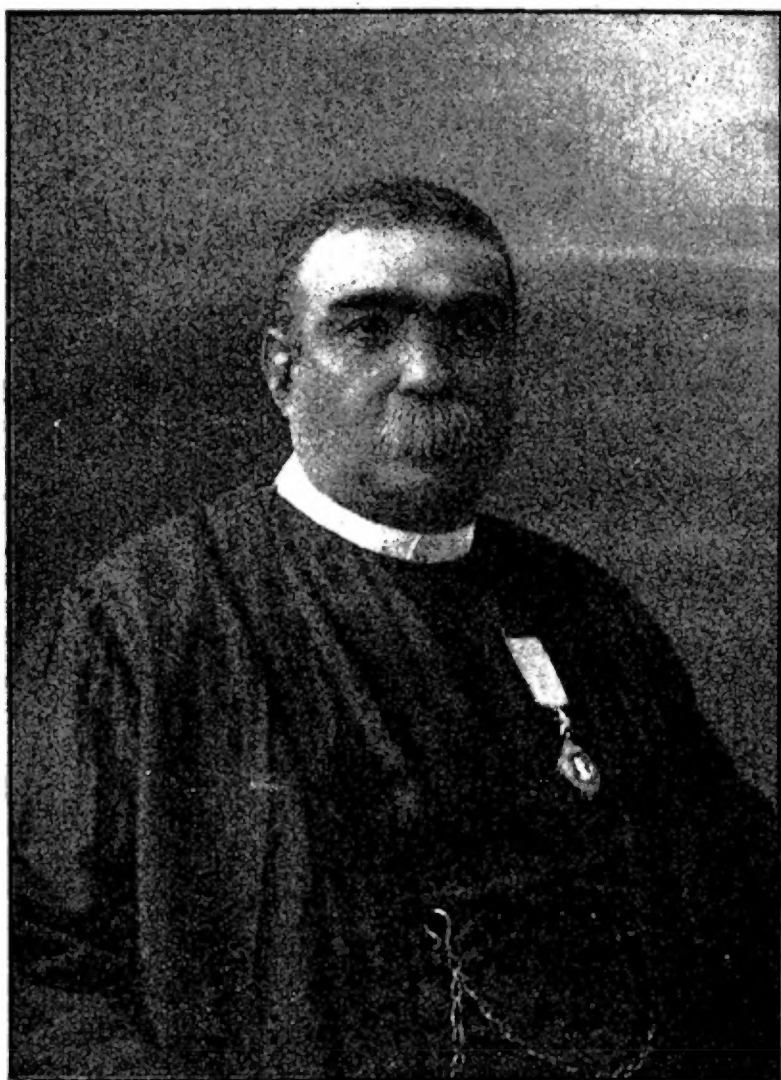
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SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

*Received from Mrs. M. S. Mookerjee*

Dedicated

to the memory

The late Honourable Sir ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE,

Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.A.S., F.A.S.B.

Saraswati, Sastravachaspati, Sambu Bhagama-chakravarti

in gratitude and admiration.



## PREFACE

The University of Calcutta was pleased to appoint me Reader of the University in Ethnography in 1920. I was asked to deliver a course of twelve lectures in Ethnography in February-March, and the present volume has grown out of those lectures. The inclusion of Anthropology, Ethnology and the allied subjects in the Post-Graduate Studies and for the B.A. and B.Sc. Degree Examinations, as also my appointment here as a Lecturer in Anthropology and in Ancient Indian History and Culture in 1921, led me to revise and rewrite considerable portions of these lectures to suit the requirements of the Post-Graduate students and others interested in the subject. The original plan was thus a little altered, and the twelve lectures actually delivered were without serious omissions reduced to ten.

The materials gathered for the preparation of these lectures are mainly from a first-hand study of the people of South India in general, and of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore in particular. A list of authorities consulted is given at the end of the volume. Photographs to illustrate these lectures were all taken by me from different parts of South India with the exception of a few borrowed from friends to whom my thanks are due.

I take this opportunity to express my deep indebtedness to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.A.S., F.A.S.B., President of the Post-Graduate Studies and the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, and to the Syndicate, but for whom



this work would not have been undertaken. My thanks are also due to Dr. H. Stephen, M.A., D.D., Ph.D., Professor of English Literature, for the valuable suggestions and the help given me in reading through most of the proofs and to Mr. A. C. Ghatak, M.A., Superintendent of the University Press, for the care taken by him in getting the volume neatly printed.

L. K. A.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,

*September, 1, 1924.*

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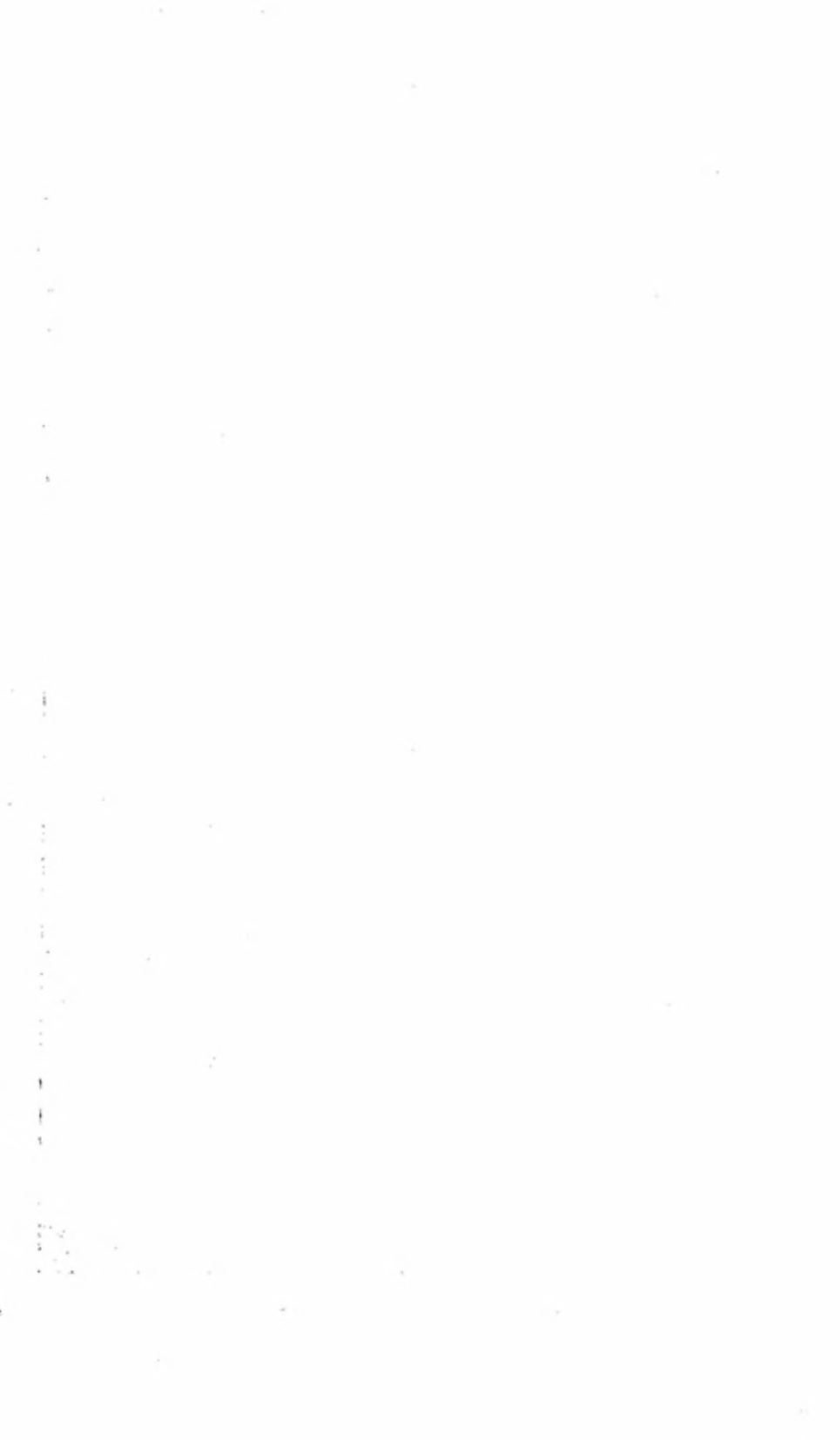
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A Forest View in Travancore

# I

## ANTHROPOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY.

### *Introduction.*

It has been said that the proper study of Man is man, and this is a truism which is so trite that it is generally disregarded. Man devotes himself to the study of everything in heaven and earth, but does not care for the study of himself. Anthropology, the study of Man, is 'the youngest of the Sciences,' and everybody is aware of its vast importance. It is a science full of interest and usefulness.

"Anthropology is leading to most important results, and is throwing new light upon all the Sciences relating to man." Its object is to lay open to our view man as he really is, "to unfold to us the secrets of his acts, his passions and his wants, in the past and possibly in the future." Man adapts himself to every climate only by dint of perseverance. One race dies out in a country while another thrives in it. The science of acclimatization is therefore one department of the science of Anthropology. By certain means of high breeding and well-managed crossing, Man is capable of being changed in successive generations in his physical and moral character. He will go on improving or degenerating in accordance with the methods he adopts. Anthropology suggests here with the most practical and the highest aim; and its utility in this alone should appeal to the encouragement and patronage of learned societies,

and governments. "More than any other science it is capable of exercising an influence on our social organisations. Naturalists, physicians, travellers, archaeologists and linguists are all contributing for the advancement of the science. 'A peculiarity of the study of Anthropology,' says Dr. A. C. Haddon, 'is the lack of demarcations.' This lack of definiteness adds a charm to the subject, and is fertile in the production of new ideas, for it is in the fringe of a science that originality has its scope. It is only by a synthesis of the various studies which are grouped together under the term Anthropology, that one can hope to gain a clear conception of what man is, and what he has done."<sup>1</sup>

### *The Scope and Extent of the Subject.*

It is somewhat difficult to draw a dividing line between the proper scope of Anthropology, and that of other studies, and it is sometimes said that it is no real science; but it is now recognized as a distinct subject. It was once believed to have designated collectively, the scattered fragments of various kinds of knowledge relating to the natural history of man. It includes such an extensive range of subjects, ramifying in all directions, illustrating and receiving light from many others sciences. It tends often to over-lap itself, and give a looseness and indefiniteness to the aims of the individual or institution proposing to cultivate it.<sup>2</sup> The old term Ethnology or the study of peoples or races has a limited and definite meaning. It treats of the similarities and modifications of the different groups of human species in relation to each other. Anthropology as now understood has a far wider scope. It treats of mankind as a whole. It

---

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, Presidential Address, 1903, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Presidential Address to the Section of Anthropology. British Association for the Advancement of the Science, 1894.

investigates his origin and his relations to the rest of the universe. It invokes the aid of the sciences of Zoology, Comparative Anatomy and Physiology, in its attempts to estimate the distinctions and resemblances between man and his nearest allies, and in fixing his place in the scale of living beings. In endeavouring to investigate the origin and antiquity of man, Geology helps to determine the comparative ages of the strata, in which the evidences of his existence are found, and researches into his early history soon trench upon totally different branches of knowledge. In tracing the progress of the race from the most primitive condition, the characteristics of its physical structure are soon left behind, and it is upon evidence of a kind peculiar to human species and by which man is so pre-eminently distinguished from all other living beings, that our conclusions mainly rest. The study of the works of the earliest known fore-fathers pre-historic archaeology, is now almost a science by itself. It investigates the origin of all human culture, endeavours to trace to their common beginning, the sources of our arts, customs, and history. The difficulty is what to include and where to stop. Knowledge of the origin and development of particular existing customs throws immense light on their real nature and importance. Conversely, it is often only from a profound acquaintance with the present and comparatively modern manifestations of culture that we are able to interpret the slight indications afforded us by the scanty remains of primitive civilisation. It is on these considerations that the term Anthropology is substituted for Ethnology.

*Definitions.—Anthropology, Ethnology and Ethnography.*

Anthropology is that branch of Natural History which treats of man. It may also be defined as the Science of

Man which includes two main divisions, the one which deals with the natural Man and the other the social Man, *i.e.*, Man in relation to his fellows (Topinard). In fact it comprehends the whole history of Man as fired and pervaded by the idea of evolution. (Marett).

The Science of Ethnology has been defined as that branch of general Anthropology which deals with the relations of the different varieties of mankind to each other (Latham). Anthropology is a part of Natural History, and deals with the question of the several races, their anatomy, physiology and pathology. It seeks to determine which are the permanent varieties of the crania by the facial features, by the stature and the proportion of the body, by the microscopic structure of the hair, and by the colour of the skin. It also analyses the great problem of evolution. It assigns to food, to climate, to what the French call the *milieu* and the Americans the surroundings. Ethnology treats the same subject from the physical and psychological sides, and borrows its anatomical data, however, from the elder branch. Ethnography embraces the descriptive details, and Ethnology, the rational exposition of the human aggregates and organization known as hordes, clans, tribes and nations, especially in the earlier, the savage and barbarous stages of their progress. Ethnography does not discuss anew the solutions presented by Anthropology, but accepts them as generally true, and observes if they fit and work satisfactorily in its department. Both belong to the general Science of Anthropology or the Natural History of mankind, and are related to it as parts of a whole. No very sharp line can be drawn between these two sciences themselves, and their differences are mainly those between the particular and the general, between the orderly collection of facts and the principles according to which they may be grouped and interpreted. Ethnographers

deal with particular tribes, and with particular institutions, and particular customs prevailing among the several peoples of the world, and especially among so-called savages. Ethnologists bring simultaneously under review superstitions, legends, customs, and institutions which, though scattered in distant regions of the earth, have some common basis or significance.<sup>1</sup>

• Anthropology, Ethnology, and Ethnography are interwoven with philology, jurisprudence, archaeology, geography, and the various branches of history. A fact may require to be investigated successively by linguists, anatomists, and mathematicians. In current language, Ethnology and Ethnography are often used indiscriminately, but if a distinction is to be made between them, an instinctive perception may teach us to speak of Ethnographic facts and Ethnological theories. "Nature,"—as Lamarck has said, "recognises neither kingdoms, nor classes, nor orders, nor genera, nor subgenera; nature recognizes nothing but individuals." The older sciences may be tabulated to a degree which the younger sciences cannot allow, and Ethnology is the youngest of all in existence, even its name does not date further back than the present generation.

The following classification proposed by the Board of Studies in Anthropology of the University of London may serve as a guide for the study and teaching of Anthropology, and it is given here.

A. Physical Anthropology (Anthropography, Anthropology of some writers):—

(a) Zoological (Somatology, including craniology, etc.). Man's place in nature as evidenced by the study of comparative anatomy and physiology, more especially of the Anthropoidea.

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<sup>1</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. VIII, pp. 613-14.

(b) Paleontological.—The antiquity of man as evidenced by fossil and semi-fossilised remains, including the geological evidence.

(c) Physiological and Psychological.—The comparative study of the bodily functions and mental processes.

(d) Ethnological.—The comparative study of the physical characters which distinguish the various sub-races of man. Classification of the human race in accordance with the physical and psychical characters. Geographical distribution of the varieties of mankind. The influence of environment on physique.

B. Cultural Anthropology (Ethnology of some writers):—

(a) Archaeological.—The antiquity of man as revealed by the earliest remains of his handiwork. The pre-historic periods; their characteristics, sequence, and duration. The survival of early conditions of culture in later times. (Folk-Lore).

(b) Technological.—The comparative study of arts and industries, their origin, development, and geographical distribution.

(c) Sociological.—The comparative study of social phenomena and organization. Birth, education, marriage and deaths, customs, and systems. Social and religious associations. Government and Laws. Moral ideas and Codes. Magical and religious ideas and practices.

(d) Linguistic.—The comparative study of language.

(e) Ethnological.—The comparative study and classification of peoples based upon cultural conditions and characteristics. The influence of environment upon culture.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, *History of Anthropology*, pp. 4 to 5.

*Prejudice against the study of Anthropology  
and the sciences in early times.*

In early days both the state and church looked with suspicion upon the work of Anthropologists. The Government of France opposed an attempt to found an Anthropological Society in Paris in 1846, and the attempt failed, and at last when the Society was founded in 1859, about four years before the foundation of a similar society in England, the founder Mr. Broca, "was bound over to keep the discussions within legitimate and orthodox limits." A police agent attended its meeting for two years to see that the condition of confining the discussion within legitimate and orthodox limits was observed. It is said that in Madrid a similar attempt to found a society was suppressed, because it was feared that the subject of Anthropology bore "corruptive potentialities."<sup>1</sup>

The church fulminated against those who entertained doubts on the subject of Adam and Eve or who believed in the existence of antipodal man or that man had existed for more than 6,000 years allotted to him by scripture. "Dr. Lightfoot, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, concluded that, "man was created by the Trinity on October '23, 4004 B.C., at 9 o'clock in the morning."<sup>2</sup> Such was the doctrine of the antiquity of man held by the church. An example of the mistrust of the church towards anthropological matters in the last century is presented by James Cowles Prichard (1786-1848). It is said that when his father observed the course of the investigations of his son, he enjoined him not to write anything which would tend to undermine

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<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, *History of Anthropology*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Clodd, *Pioneers of Evolution*, quoting from White, *Warfare of Science with Theology*.



the literal interpretation of the scriptural account of the origin of man. When Buffon in the middle of the eighteenth century delivered his lectures on anthropological subjects, the church in France raised a storm of protest against his views, and he had to suppress some of his lectures. In 1816-18 when Sir William Lawrence (1783-1867) delivered his "Lectures on Comparative Anatomy, Physiology, and the Natural History of Man, he was accused of propagating opinions detrimental to Society, and was endeavouring to enforce them for the purpose of loosening those restraints on which the welfare of mankind depends." Though at first he stoutly opposed any interference with his independence of thought and speech, he had finally to call in his published lectures.

Professor Huxley is said to have predicted in his Anthropological Address, that some of the teachings and discoveries in Anthropology, though thought to be shaking "the foundations of the world" at the time, would be taught in schools in due course. His prediction has become true, and Anthropology is now taught in the English Universities. The importance which the Royal Commission on University Education, London, attaches to the subject of Ethnology may be gathered from the following extracts from their report (1913)<sup>1</sup> :—

"There is no doubt, in our opinion, that a well-equipped department of Ethnology is a necessary adjunct to the school of Oriental Studies about to be established in the City. It is almost important that the officials and others intending to spend their lives in the East or in parts of the Empire inhabited by non-European races, should have a knowledge of their racial characteristics, so that they should be acquainted with their speech, and we believe the Colonial Office shares this view."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. J. Cunningham's Presidential Address of 28th January, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Journal, Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XXXVII.

*Task of Ethnography.*

It is said that our notion of mankind and of their works that make the History of the world, is chiefly based on the most progressive and the most civilized communities to the total neglect of the lower strata of society. This has been the long established practice. The duty of Ethnography is to apply itself all the more faithfully to this neglected lower strata of society and to trace actually among them, the processes by which they have attained to the higher development in modern times. "Ethnography acquaints us not only with what man is, but with the means by which he has become what he is, so far as the processes have left any traces of their manifold inner workings. It is only thus that we shall get a firm grasp of the unity and completeness of the human race." The geographical conception of their surroundings, and the historical consideration of their development will thus go together. It is only from the combination of the two that a just estimate can be formed. As for historical considerations, it can be pointed that races have remained the same for thousands of years, and have changed their places, their speech, their physical appearance, their mode of life, their religion, and their language superficially. There have been the remnants of the prehistoric races that have lived in the Empire, in hilly tracts, in caverns in their rocks, and were renowned far and wide for activity and swiftness of foot and spoke a language which hardly extended beyond the walls of their rocky fortresses, and for a very long time they have lived in just the same way. Their descendants to-day, "are no poorer, no richer, no wiser, no more ignorant than their fathers." Each generation has repeated the history of the one before it. They have always been men with certain natural gifts,

strong, active, having virtues and defects of their own. There they stand, a fragment of by-gone ages.

In the judgments of people generally, we find unmistakably that the feeling of individual self-esteem leads us to take the unfavourable view of our neighbours. We must try to be just, and the study of mankind may help in that direction with the impression that in all dealings with men and nations, we ought to consider that all their thoughts, feelings and actions bear an essentially graded character. In one stage or another anything may happen, and mankind is divided not by gaps, but by steps. The task of Ethnography is therefore to indicate not only the distinctions but also the points of transition and intimate affinities which exist. For mankind is one whole, though variously cultured; and if it cannot be too often proclaimed that a nation consists of individuals, which are and remain in all its operations its ultimate elements, there is yet so great a conformity of disposition among these individuals that the thoughts which go forth from one man are certain to find an echo in another, if they can succeed in them, as the same seed is certain to produce like fruits in like soils.

Elementary ideas have an irresistible power of expansion, and there is no reason why they should come to a stop at the hut of a Kadar or the fire place of a Hill Vedan. But the obstacles which hinder or delay their progress are endless; and besides, as they arise from life and accompany life, they are like all life changeable. Here lies the main cause of differences among races and a mass of Ethnological problems. "It is said that the key to the history of the primitive man lies in the geographical distribution of mankind to begin with, and then in the manner in which culture has been acquired, and the means of culture from the

production of fire up to the loftiest ideas of the historical nations." (Ratzel).

A Universal History of civilization is easily possible. No one hereafter will write a history of the world without dealing with those people which have not been till now regarded as possessing a history, because they have left no records written or graven in stone. Here also Ethnography will show the way to juster and correct notions.

*A short account of the work done in Anthropology,  
Ethnology, and Ethnography in India.*

It is only in recent times that the enormous and almost incalculable mass of anthropological materials which India offers to the student has begun to be systematically utilised. Historians like Mount Stuart Elphinstone, Sir H. Elliot, Dr. T. A. Wise and others working on the borderland of the subject, preserved and accumulated incidentally much material of value to those who would follow them. Dr. John Short was the first to make systematic observations in Physical Anthropology; "as a pioneer his methods were unformed, and his achievements small, but he should not be forgotten." The Government of India recently began to favour and subsidize this work. It was pointed out that in India a highly administrative body of the most modern type carries on the work of Government in constant and close contact with the people, whose beliefs and observances present examples of all stages and varieties of primitive culture, and who nevertheless show no signs either of dying out or even of parting with their characteristic usages and superstitions. This state of things affords peculiar opportunities for the formation of a trustworthy record of primitive customs

and traditions which possess high value to students of the early history of institutions. It was hoped that in all grades of administrative officers, both European and Indian, would be found men, who would take real interest in the investigations of social phenomena, and would be ready to assist actively in the collection of Ethnographic data in addition to their official duties. The scheme suggested for this purpose was commended to the Provincial Governments by the Government of India, and the outcome of it was Mr. Crooke's admirable volumes on the Castes and Tribes of the North-West Provinces now known, as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, similar to that of Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal. A further advance was made at the instance of the British Association. Lord Curzon's Government obtained the sanction of the Secretary of State to a scheme for a comprehensive Ethnographic survey of the customs of the most important tribes and castes of India on the lines that had been followed in Bengal. The result of the survey was the publication of the volumes on the Tribes and Castes for various Provinces by Superintendents appointed for the purpose. To this was added an Anthropometric Branch, a summary of the work of which was published in the Census of India in 1901 in a chapter on Ethnology in the first volume of the Indian Empire and on the "People of India" in 1908 by Sir. Herbert Risley.

In a letter of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute, dated 18th April, 1913, to the Secretary of State for India expressing their views on the subject of the Oriental Research Institute which the Government of India proposed to found, the Council emphasised on the importance of the study of Social Anthropology in that Institute from an administrative or political point of view, and its bearings on the difficult and peculiar

problems which confront the Government of India at every turn.<sup>1</sup>

The late Sir Herbert Risley, in his Presidential address at the Royal Anthropological Institute, said that the Treasury had appointed a Committee in 1907 to consider the organization of oriental studies in London. This was also thought to be a right step in the direction of, "the recognition of Anthropology in the widest sense on the administrative problems of the Empire."

"In the discussion of the conference held at Simla in July, 1911, regarding the relation of the Museums to the Educational systems of India, it was said that one of the most urgent needs in India was an Ethnographic Museum under Scientific management designed to illustrate Indian civilization in varied phases, as otherwise students in future, would be compelled to visit Museums of Paris, Berlin, Munich and other places, in order to study subjects which obviously could be studied best on Indian soil." The Government of India, as at present advised, are inclined to favour the formation of a Museum of Indian art and Ethnography at Delhi. Their accepted policy is to develop local Museums with special regard to local interests, and to concentrate on matters of general interest in the Imperial Museums. This necessarily will give a stimulus to the popular studies of the subject, but only specialists are expected to collect specimens, and to so arrange them in the Museums as to represent the various grades of the culture of man in India.<sup>2</sup>

Students and others interested in the Study of People can refer to the abundance of literature referred to above,

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Herbert Risley's Presidential Address, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XLI.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Herbert Risley's Presidential Address, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XLI.

<sup>3</sup> Indian Educational Policy, pp. 27-28.

*viz.*, the Tribes and Castes of Assam, Bengal, North-West Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Southern India, Mysore and Cochin.

Though much has been thus done by various experts, there is yet ample scope for special investigations into the manners and customs of the various aboriginal fragments of the Empire as a preparation for their cultural history and racial affinities.

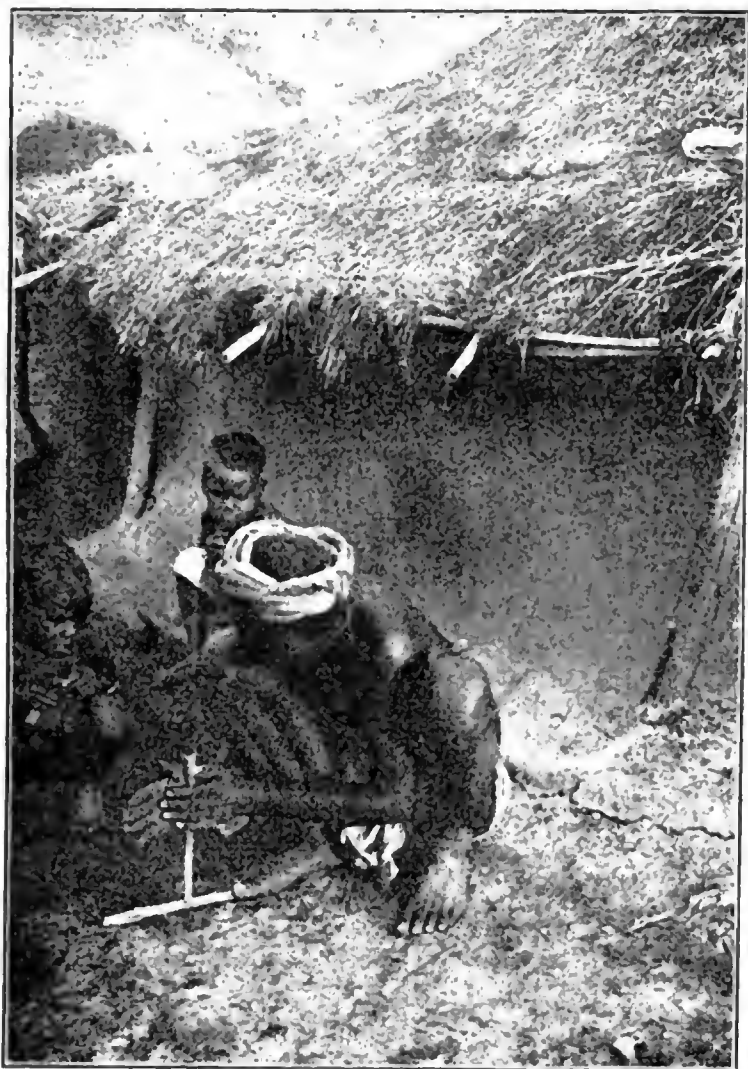
*Necessity for an early collection of materials.*

The material necessary for the study of these Sciences is fast disappearing. The Geologist can examine the structure of the rocks at his leisure and collect and classify his fossils ; and if the records show a weak place he can go over the ground again at any time and can study the same phenomena at different localities ; but (if we may use the term) the fossils of the Anthropologists are living organisms, and they are fast disappearing or becoming so changed by contact or crossing with the higher forms of humanity, that their value as fossils tends to be lost. Some physical characteristics doubtless show a wonderful persistence, and this mainly gives the great and permanent value to the study of Physical Anthropology ; but social organisms and mental attributes suffer very quickly from foreign contact and it will be found difficult for investigators to trace them properly. From what has been said, it may be seen that the Science of Anthropology is vast. But in spite of the work already done by experts in Physical Anthropology, much more remains to be done.

A vast country like India, is being very rapidly revolutionised in the matter of its manners and customs, and beliefs by the spread of railways, telegraphs, motor cars and motor cycles in its distant corners. The necessity







A Hill Arayan of the Travancore Hills producing fire  
by drilling

for collecting materials, before they are destroyed by those and other agencies, is great and urgent. "The pressing necessity of instituting careful anthropological researches among the uncultured peoples is every day, becoming more evident. By contact with the missionary, the merchant, and the miner, these people are rapidly losing their primitive conditions, and our opportunities of observation are consequently becoming more and more diminished. While rejoicing at the progress of civilization, the Anthropologist feels that the dark places of the earth are precisely those places most likely to throw light upon many problems of the Pre-historic past."

In India, a country with various creeds and ruled by an alien race, the important branch of the subject is what is known as Social Anthropology. In the present state of the science there must be a large number of trained students to take stock of the available materials and have them verified. A further collection of materials made after a careful enquiry is not an easy task; but it is not without an adequate value, and it will form the basis for systematic work. If we have at present neither the knowledge nor the leisure to examine and describe, we can at least preserve from destruction the materials for our successors to work upon. Photographs, models, anatomical specimens, skeletons or parts of the skeletons, specimens illustrating the manners and customs of any of the so-called aboriginal races now rapidly undergoing extermination or degeneration, will be of inestimable value. Drawings, measurements and descriptions are also useful though in a far less degree. Such collections must be made on a larger scale, owing to the difficulties in the classification of man. It is only by large numbers that possible errors can be avoided. These must be located in Museums. More valuable than collectors, investigators are necessary. In most branches of scientific

enquiry, later investigations owing to more improved study, and improved methods are apt to overshadow the earlier investigations, which cannot be ignored. Students continually refer to them. Qualified investigators should set to work without delay. Every year's delay means that the work is so much less perfect. They have to bear in mind that they have the satisfaction of feeling that students of mankind will have to consult the publication, and then have the tremendous responsibility that their writings will have to be accepted as correct, as there will be in future no means of checking it.

There is only one Society in India, namely, the Bombay Anthropological Society which has been doing excellent work in the direction of the collection of the Anthropological materials or data; and its Journals show many an attempt to systematise and to theorise. Otherwise we should be losing a good deal of materials for Cultural Anthropology, of the kind which Sir James Frazer has grouped and systematised. Asiatic Society of Bengal and Bombay have also been doing excellent work in this direction. "A hasty and careless removal of good old beliefs, with a view to replace them by unsuitable brandnew movements or ideas, gives a shock to the foundation of faith and brings the followers between two stools to the ground."

In connection with the Anthropological materials in India, Prof. W. Ridgeway's first Presidential Address to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, on the subject of the "Relation of Anthropology to Classical Studies," suggests a similar course of studies in India also.

Scholars in the West have devoted their attention in various ways to the subject from the point of view of the Western classics. For example, there are excellent books, recently published, like the *anthropology and the classics*, edited by Dr. R. R. Marett; *The Anthropology*

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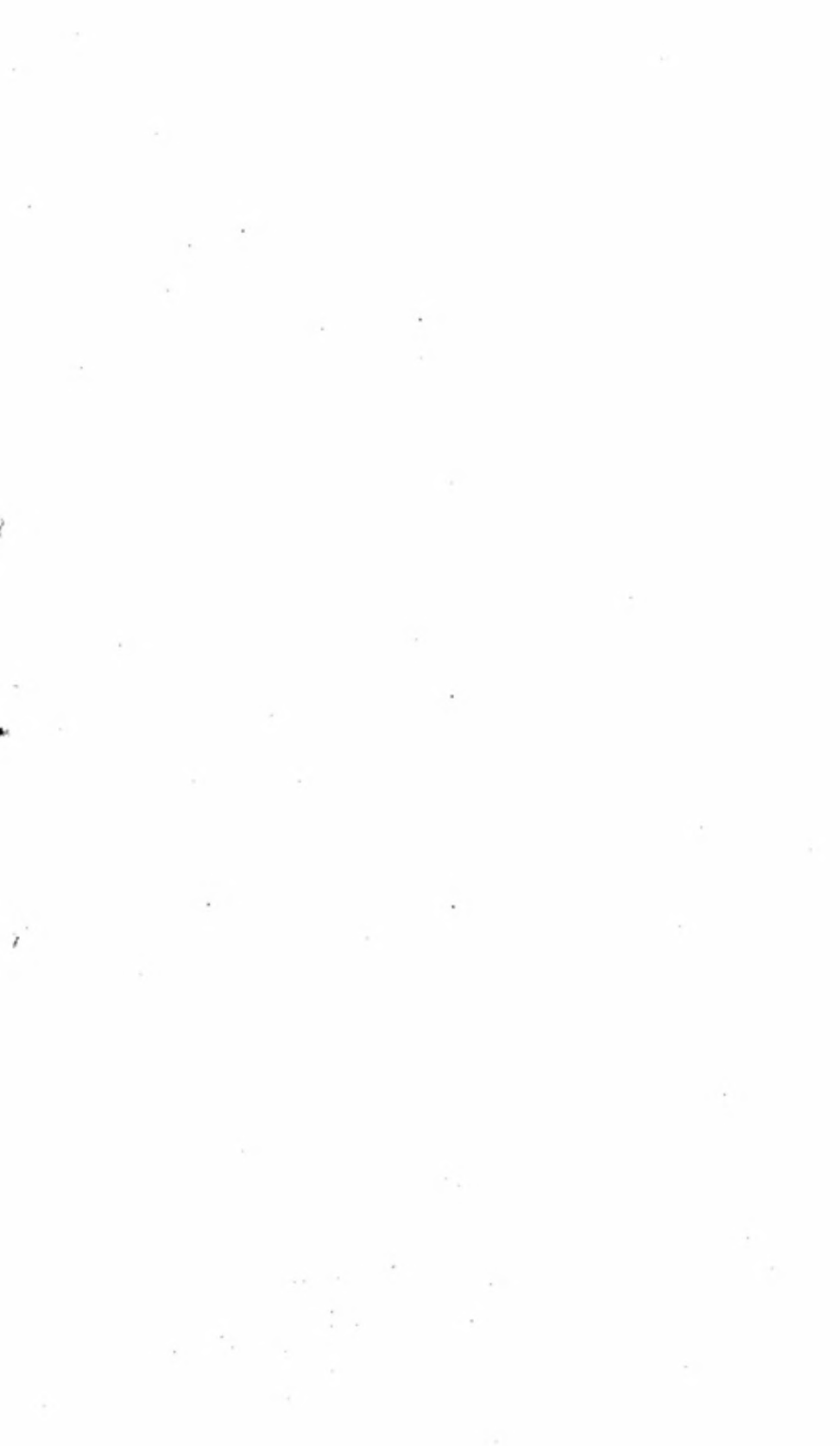
<sup>1</sup> A. C. Haddon, *The Saring of Vanishing data*, p. 228-229.

of the Greeks, by Mr. E. E. Sykes; and the Anthropological History of Europe, by Dr. John Beddoe, dealing with the Aryan question and the question of the variation of types. Some Indian scholars can well handle the subject from the point of view of the Eastern classics. The Anthropology of the Vedas and of the Puranas will be a very valuable addition to our Anthropological knowledge.

Investigations in several departments of Anthropology multiply, and the students necessarily become more or less specialists limiting their interest to small portions of the whole area of the science to which they have to devote themselves. In this way the general study of the subject can be promoted. All cultural phenomena, be they myths, beliefs, institutions, tools, dwellings, or weapons must have risen in some definite area and have spread over a long distance. Further every cultural phenomenon is an integral part of the whole culture. It cannot be separated. Its existence at any given part of the earth's surface is evidence of the diffusion, though possibly in an attenuated form, of the whole culture in the direction in which it is found. Each people bears the mark of a series of cultural deposits and the problem therefore is, to investigate these deposits and cultural groups, to determine their succession, and the direction from which they have come. Thus only can the Scientific knowledge of mankind make any real progress. To do this, we must confine ourselves to a strictly objective consideration of facts. Further it is necessary for the student of Ethnology to possess a wide practical knowledge of the human mind, and a comprehension of human nature in all its most delicate emotions. These qualifications are not to be acquired, they are inborn, and must be developed by an abstraction from the bonds of the whole mental world and a grip of the numerous possibilities, the consideration of which will prevent one-sided conclusions.

From what has been said above, it may be seen that the work hitherto done in Indian Anthropology and Ethnology has been mainly for administrative purposes. But nothing worthy of the name has been done to ascertain the types persisting in a country to which no other country in the world can be compared as possessing so many varieties. The whole matter of Physical Anthropology as it relates to Anthropology, has been, as Prof. Dorsay has said, greatly abused—"chiefly because investigators failing to define their problems, have naturally come to no conclusions." The need for a systematic survey is pressing, and should be done by experts, but more valuable than the determination of types would be the application of Anthropometry to the rate of growth of children, and especially to the effects of environment and cross-breeding.

Scientific work of the above nature can be best done by Universities, which would give the subject its proper place in the course of studies. The mere teaching of a subject is but a routine work of a University. No real school can be established unless research work in that subject is encouraged and this encouragement must be regarded as an essential characteristic of a University. The sciences of Anthropology and Ethnology with their many approaches and aspects, will afford abundant opportunities for students of diverse aptitudes for original research, for which there is ample scope in every part of India. The Universities of Calcutta, Mysore and Patna have already taken the matter in hand, and introduced the subject of Anthropology and Ethnology into the post-graduate course. It is hoped that at no distant date the other Indian Universities also will follow them, and give such adequate encouragement as the subject deserves, and so stimulate the study of this important subject.





A Maori Woman, New Zealand

*From Vincent J. Crequer, F.R.A.I.,  
New Zealand*

## II

### *Race.*

By Race is meant, the inherited breed, and all that it covers whether bodily or mental features. It is a factor in Human Nature. Race-mark is based upon the inheritance of acquired characters, in other words, upon heredity which is a kind of race memory, or a lapsed intelligence. Weismann would say that it is a case of spontaneous variation.

The term "race", says Topinard, is only a mental product, a concept, having no objective existence apart from man's mind. Only individuals are real. "Race consists of individuals resembling each other, belonging to one species, having received and transmitting by means of sexual generation, the characters of a primitive society." In other words, "species is the unit, and the races are the fractions of this unit. Or again the species is the trunk of the tree of which the several species of races represent the principal and lesser branches and the twigs."<sup>1</sup>

Heredity and race may often be synonymous in respect of physical characteristics; but they are far from being so with reference to mental attributes. Race, properly speaking, is responsible only for peculiarities, bodily or mental, which are transmitted with constancy along the lines of direct descent from father to son. "Many mental traits, aptitudes or proclivities which

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<sup>1</sup> De Quatrefages Human Species, Ch. 3, pp. 33, 34.



appear persistently in successive populations may be derived from an entirely different source. They may have descended collaterally along the lines of purely mental suggestion by virtue of mere social contact with preceding generations. Such characters may be derived by the individual from uncles, neighbours or fellow countrymen as well as from father and mother alone. Such is the nature of tradition, a very distinct factor in social life from race."<sup>1</sup>

Race also has a larger influence than the ways and means upon sociological development. Whatever his dwelling place may be, man is badly provided for progressive movement as long as he does not possess and has not had transmitted to him, certain faculties knit and bound together, slowly and laboriously acquired in the struggle for existence. These are sociability which unites and strengthens individual action; intelligence which directs his efforts towards an object useful to the community at large; and a patient disposition which makes him resolute and capable of endurance.

The expression "Race", says Topinard, is used by an Ethnologist as a permissive one. To an Anthropologist it is one of deep meaning. He considers it as synonymous with the natural divisions of the human group, however remote the period at which they were constituted. It is now universally adopted to designate different physical types of mankind.

### *Distribution of Races, Causes of Variations.*

Leaving aside the question of the method of man's first appearance upon the world, we must assume for it a vast antiquity. Of this there is now ample proof. During the long time he existed in the savage state—a time

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<sup>1</sup> Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, p. 1.

compared to which the dawn of our historical period was as yesterday' he was influenced by the operation of those natural Laws which have produced the variations seen in other regions of organic nature. The first mean may very probably have been all alike; but, when they spread over the surface of the earth, and became subject to very diverse external conditions—climate, food, competition with members of his own species or with wild animals—racial difference began slowly to be developed through the influence of various kinds of selection acting upon the slight variations which appeared in individuals according to the tendency implanted in all living beings.

Geographical position must have been one of the main elements in determining the formation and permanence of races. "Groups of men separated from their fellows for long periods, such as those living on small islands, to which their ancestors may have been accidentally drifted, would naturally, in course of time, develop a new type of features, of skull, of complexion and of hair. A slight set in one direction, in any of these characters, would constantly tend to intensify itself, and so new races would be formed." In the same way different intellectual or moral qualities would be slowly developed and transmitted in different groups of men. "The longer a race thus formed remained isolated, the more strongly impressed and the more permanent would its characteristics become, and less liable to be changed or lost, when the surrounding circumstances were altered, or under a moderate amount of intermixture from other races the more true" in fact would it be. On the other hand, on large continental tracts where no mountains interposed make enemies of nations, or other natural barriers from obstacles to free intercourse between tribe and tribe, there would always be a tendency towards uniformity from the

amalgamation of races brought into close relation by war or by commerce. Smaller or feebler races have been destroyed or absorbed by others impelled by superabundant population or other causes to spread beyond their original limits; or sometimes the conquering race has itself disappeared by absorption into the conquered."<sup>1</sup>

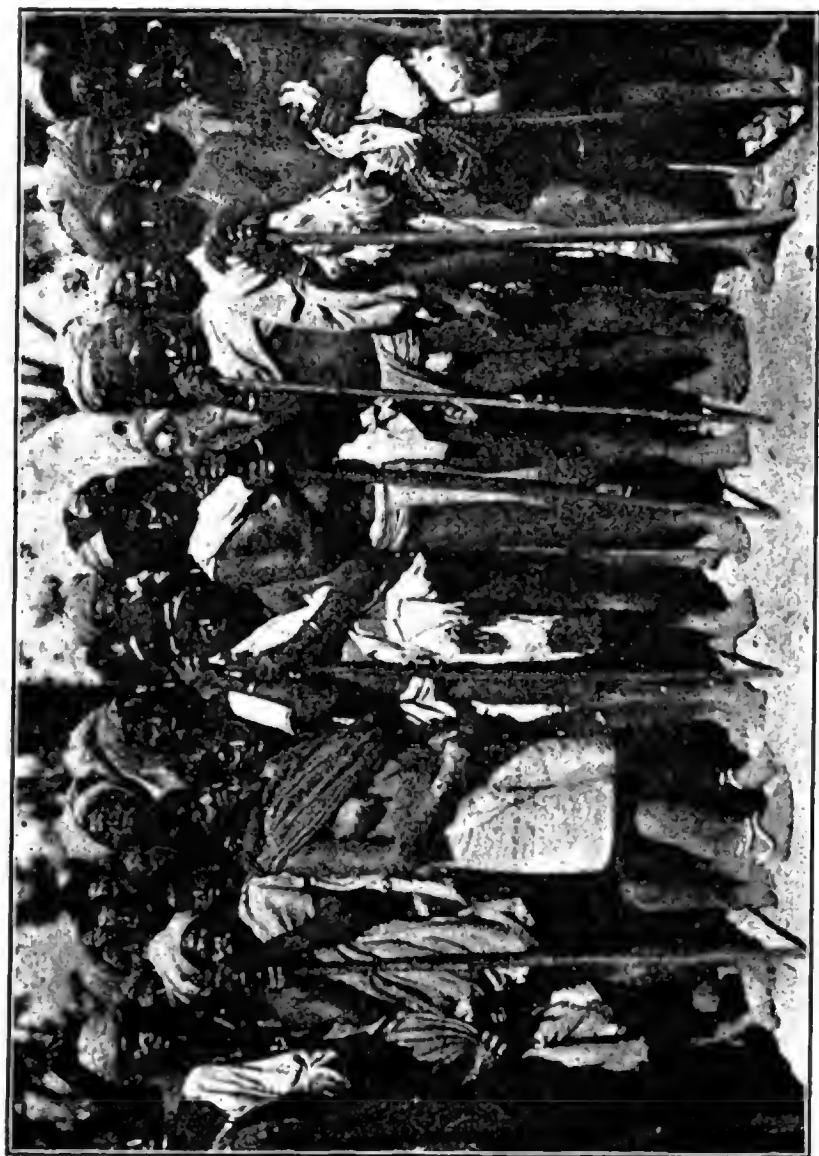
"Thus, for untold ages, the history of man has presented a shifting, kaleidoscopic scene; new races gradually becoming differentiated out of the old elements; and after dwelling awhile upon the earth either becoming suddenly annihilated or gradually merged into new combinations; a constant destruction and reconstruction, a constant tendency to separation and differentiation, and a tendency to combine again into a common uniformity, the two tendencies acting against and modifying each other. The history of these processes in former times, unless it be an inference from the present state of things, is a difficult study owing to the scarcity of evidence. If we had any approach to a complete palaeontological record, the history of man could be reconstructed, but nothing of the kind is forthcoming. Evidences of the anatomical characters of man, had he lived on the earth during the time when the great racial characteristics were being developed during the long ante-historic period in which the Negro, the Mongolian and the Caucasian were being gradually fashioned into their respective types, are entirely wanting, or if any exists, it is at present safely buried into the earth perhaps to be revealed at some unexpected time, and in some unforeseen manner."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Presidential Address to the section of Anthropology, British Association for the Advancement of Science (York Meeting), 1881.

<sup>2</sup> Presidential Address to the section of Anthropology British Association for the Advancement of Science, (York Meeting), 1881.





A Group of Hill Savaras, Parlakemedy, Vizagapatam District

*Crossing of different Races.*

Wherever dark and light races have been in contact, crossing has taken place between them. Such half-bred races in various degrees of inter-mixture inhabit Sudan, Sahara, Southern and Central East Africa, Madagascar, Southern India in both sides of the Bay of Bengal and Australia. In Southern Europe and the extreme of Polynesia isolated races of Negroid admixture are found.

Inter-breeding is similarly making rapid strides in all parts of the earth. From North and East Africa, Arabs and peoples of the Berber stock are pressing upon the Negroes. In the place of Hottentots, the Bastard European half-breeds are said to be found. Similar phenomena are noticeable in India also. In Canada nearly all French Settlements show traces of Indian blood; in Central and South America the Meztizoes and Mulattoes are already stronger than the full blooded Indians.

In Oceanea, Malays and Polynesians are crossed with the Negros of the Pacific. Throughout Central Asia, there is a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, European blood reaching far in the direction of Europe and affecting the whole north and east of one quarter of the globe. "The greater bulk, quicker growth and superiority in all conquering arts," says Ratzel, "which mark more highly civilized races, give them, under favourable climate, the advantage in the process, and we can speak of an absorption of the lower by the higher even where the latter are not in the Majority. If there is any advantage and consolation in the universal disappearance of primitive races, it is the knowledge that a great part of them is being slowly raised by the process of intermixture."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, pp. 261, 62.

"Thus the history of the world shows a spread of civilization, and the natural numerical preponderance existing among the civilized folk is an important factor therein. People who multiply more rapidly pour out their surplus upon the others. The influence of the higher culture which was the cause or condition of the rapid increase gets spontaneously the upper hand. Thus the spread of civilization appears as a self-accelerating outgrowth over the world of civilizing races, and strives more completely to effect the unity of the human race which forms at once its aim and task, its desire and hope."<sup>1</sup>

*The Results of Racial Miscegenation.*

Whenever two races occupy the same geographical area, a mixed population arises, and a large percentage of the population of the world has come into existence by race-crossing, and the character of the product is as important for social welfare, as it is interesting to the anthropologist and sociologist. The question becomes very important in the present age of colonial expansion from the increasing contact of the European white with the dark skinned populations of the tropics, with whom he has not hesitated to mingle his blood. The question is being approached not only from the side of philosophic doctrine, but also from the side of objective study; and there is now considerable difference between the conclusions of those who presume to speak with authority. The followers of Gobineau in France and Morton in America, have maintained that racial intermixture has had, and can have only disastrous consequences.<sup>2</sup>

At the extreme end are those who preach the gospel of amalgamation in the United States during and after

<sup>1</sup> Ratzel—History of Mankind, Vol. I, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Quatrefagus Human Species, Chap. XXIII, pp. 260-64.

the Civil War, maintaining that intermixture between races so dissimilar as the whites and negroes would prove beneficial. Race blending under favourable circumstances produces a type of superior fertility, vitality and cultural worth to one or both of the parent stocks, and in many of the Pacific islands it is said that it testifies to the fact, that the half-breeds in many cases have increased at the expense of the pure race. "More race-crossing has occurred on the outskirts of civilization, and the half-breeds despised by one race and despising the other have been outcastes from society. The victims of prejudice and social ostracism are certain to display bad qualities; yet despite these untoward circumstances, there is a large body of evidence of superior energy and mental vigour produced by the race-crossing." Many negroes who have achieved distinction in the United States have been those of the mixed blood. It is no surprise, if racial miscegenation produces an inferior population. The withholding of social and racial sanction from inter-racial marriage tends to limit unions to lower classes, the children of which are like the parents. But the results are likely to be advantageous if the crossing occurs under favourable conditions. While race-blending is not everywhere desirable, the crossing of distinct races under favourable conditions with social sanction often produces a superior type. The crossing that has taken place in the various parts of the world disproves the conclusion "the dilution of the blood of the so-called civilized races by that of the so-called lower races will either set the species on the highway to extinction or cause a relapse to barbarism."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Inter-Racial Problems*, pp. 111-112.



*Unity of Mankind.*

Wherever man inhabits, peoples are found who are members of one and the same race. "The unity of the human genus is the work of the planet earth, 'stamped on the highest step of creation.' There is only one species of man, and the variations are numerous ; but they do not go deep." In a wider sense, says Ratzel, Man is a citizen of the earth, and he knows nearly the entire globe. Fair and dark races, long and short-headed, intelligent and primitive all come from one stock. "Favourable circumstances and surroundings, especially good environment, a favourable position, trade and traffic cause one group to advance more quickly than another while some groups have remained in a very primitive state of development ; but all are adapted to the surroundings according to the law of the survival of the fittest."<sup>1</sup>

*Race Prejudices.<sup>2</sup>*

It is said that race prejudices form a species belonging to a flourishing genus. Prejudices innumerable exist based on callousness, ignorance, misunderstanding economic rivalry and above all on the fact that our customs are dear to us, but appear ridiculous and perverse to all who do not sympathetically study them. Nation looks down on nation, class on class, religion on religion, sex on sex, race on race. The civilized man is proud of his wonderful achievements and treats with contempt the humbler members of mankind and considers himself a being of higher order as compared to primitive men. He also claims that white race represents a type higher than all other. It can be conclusively proved that this is not the case. Coloured

<sup>1</sup> Inter-Racial Problems, p. 21.

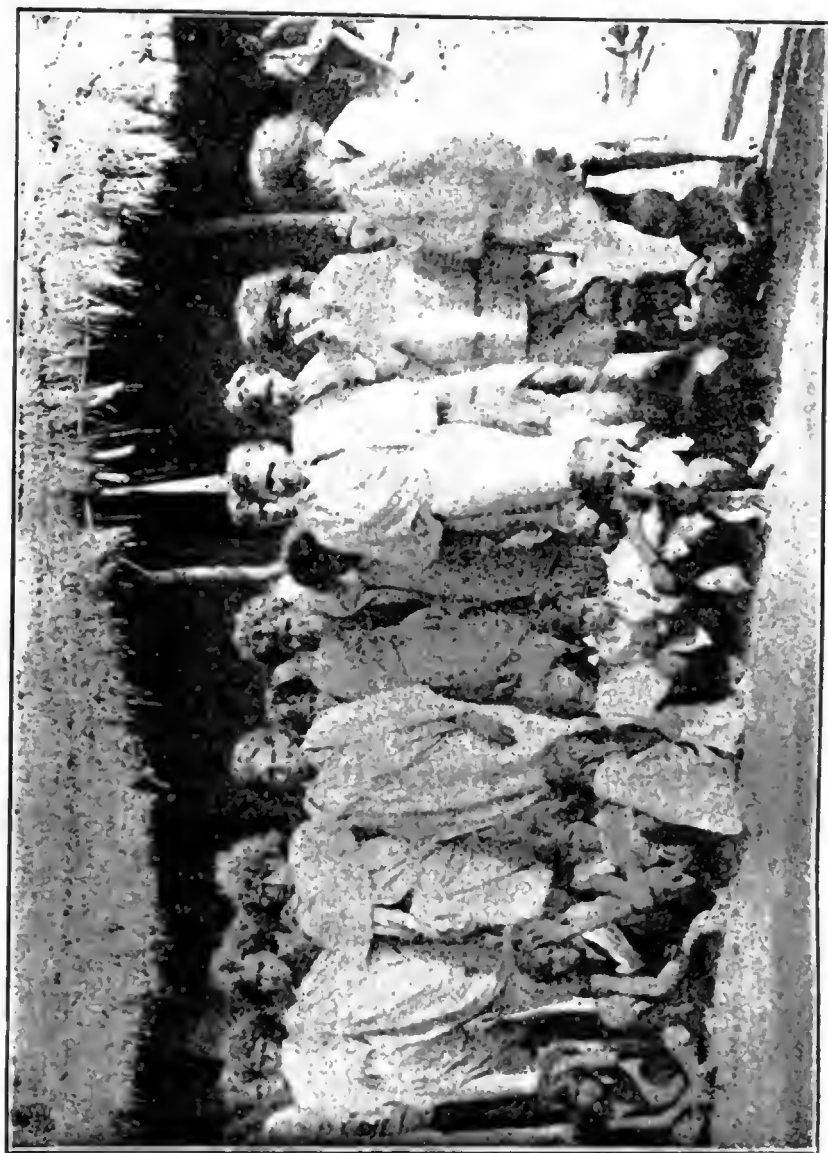
<sup>2</sup> Do. A short summary of Anthropological View of Race, p. 13-24.

people are often described as savages, but no attempt is yet made to give a proper definition of "coloured" and "savage." It is said that the dark races are the descendants of incestuous intercourse between Aryans and monkeys. It is also contended that the "Negro is not a human being at all, but a different form of an ox or ass, and is therefore only entitled to such kindness as a merciful man shows to his cattle." The great majority of Anthropologists now claims a monogenetic origin to mankind, and this disproves the assumption of the Negroes being a separate race. Still weaker and more objectionable is the division about colour. Colour of skin and hair is only the effect of environment and the white races are fair, because their ancestors have lived for thousands and thousands of years in sunless and foggy countries. "Fairness is nothing else than a lack of pigment, and the ancestors of the white race have lost a part of their pigment, because they did not want it." Many of the tribes and races in India are dark, and they cannot be called savage on that account. They had an ancient civilization, a noble and refined religion at a time when the so-called civilized races had a low standard of life, the people who consider the coloured as ugly, have only to be reminded, that beauty is relative, and that the idea of beauty is subject to changes of fashion.

The primitive races are spoken of as unclean. Those who say this are ignorant of the fact that the most primitive men bathe every day, and that many savages clean their teeth after every meal for more than half an hour, while quite on the contrary, a large number of the members of the civilized society seldom use a tooth brush. The most primitive men have no written language and are 'unalphabets.' So are ninety per cent. of the Russians, but their memory is much

stronger than that of the civilized men with us. It may well be that the invention of writing led to a deterioration of the memory. So it is well with dress. Ethnology teaches us that the primitive men can have a highly developed sense of modesty, though naked. Among civilized men everybody knows how immodest one can be in "silk and velvet." In former times their anatomical peculiarities were taken as the starting point in showing their inferiority. The savages are often regarded as possessing a lower order of intelligence with little or no mental culture. Of the ten million Negroes in the United States, many are said to be lawyers, surgeons, and physicians and many have graduated in Universities. Hundreds of thousands ply trades, and have acquired property. There are also many like Dr. Booker Washington, and Professor Dr. Bois who are recognised as men of distinction. Fair and dark races, long and short headed, intelligent, and primitive all come from one stock. Favourable circumstances and surroundings, especially a good environment, a favourable geographical position, trade and traffic, caused one group to advance more quickly than another, while some groups have remained in a primitive state of development. But all are adapted to their surroundings according to the law of survival of the fittest.

In this connection it may not be out of place to refer to the so-called danger to the civilized nations by the immigrations of coarser or less refined elements. There are twelve millions of coloured people in the United States. Feelings of racial antagonism is directed now against immigration from Asia and that less desirable elements from Eastern Europe. Even in Germany the constant migration of Eastern slaves into Western Provinces is regarded as regrettable by people who are suspected of being narrow-minded. No nation is likely



A Group of Hill Savara Women, Parlakemedy, Vizagapatam District



to be indifferent to the welfare of a very large number of strangers who live in their towns to work for lower wages, and live on a low standard of life and send home a great part of their income. But far more serious to the Anthropologist is the question of racial mixture; a certain admixture of blood has always been of advantage to a nation. England, France, and Germany have had a great variety of racial elements. In the case of Italy in ancient times and at the Renaissance, the Northern Barbarians were left in great advance of art and civilization. The ancient Babylonian civilization sprang from a mixture of two different national and racial elements. We find also a nearly homogeneous population in most parts of Russia, and in the interior of China associated with a low stage of evolution.

The white races are more or less disposed to despise their mixture with a great part of foreign so-called lower races. Nevertheless a better knowledge will lead to more and more mutual sympathy. But racial barriers will never cease to exist, and if there is any chance of their disappearing, it will certainly be better to preserve than to obliterate them. It must also be said that national jealousies and differences even of the most cruel wars have been the real causes of freedom and mental freedom.

"After all, races, says Spiller, show nothing but skin-deep differences. Differences of language, of manners and of customs, are nothing but accidental modalities attendant on the respective historical evolution in the past, in no way powerful to efface sub-stratum common to all humanity, and in no way tending to hinder any co-operative effort in the fulfilment of the mission common to mankind in general."

*Purity of Race.*

Purity of race, as has been said, is a metaphysical conception. "It is quite easy to conceive of a number of distinct races, each possessed of some physical and intellectual powers, each generation transmitting unaltered to its successors, the sacred gift of racial solidarity and exclusiveness; and all the generations alike avoiding blood mixture with the contemporaneous generations of any other race." A conception like this cannot be reconciled with the actual phenomena of race known in the everyday world of experience. Everywhere there exists an "inextricable jumble of meeting and mingling elements from different racial sources." Whenever the attempt is made to talk about the abstract 'Race,' we are faced by contradictions and tripped up by absurdities. "The conception of race as such is utterly incapable of explaining human development, utterly incapable of explaining national character, utterly incapable of explaining any phenomenon of nationality. If we substitute for the metaphysical abstraction, the conception of organic continuity of common interest which is based upon the recognition of hard historical data, we find ourselves at once in a position to explain with clearness much in the growth of nations which would either be obscure or totally inexplicable." In support of the purity of race, the Jews have been often cited as preserving their racial characteristics in the land of their adoption after their exile from Palestine which took place nearly two thousand years ago. It is a fallacy as may be seen below.<sup>1</sup>

"Purity of race is found to apply as little to the Jews as to any other people. The Jews, in spite of Ezra and Nehemiah, have always been ready to assimilate with

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<sup>1</sup> Oaksmith, *Race and Nationality*, pp. 30-31.

other peoples. That process, as Dr. Ruppín shows, is going on with great rapidity to-day. If the history of the Jews is totally dependent on their racial characteristics, it must, surely with regret, be admitted that one of the racial characteristics of the Jews is to adopt the racial characteristics of other peoples in place of their own. The fact is that the development of strong sense of organic continuity of common interest made the Jews a peculiar people, a people set apart. As this organic continuity of common interest has been broken up by the multitudes of other interests which have appealed to them during the last two or three centuries, they are losing their national characteristics; and as separate groups of them settle among different communities, each possessing its own special interests, each group is beginning to feel itself organically a sharer in the new interests, and the nationality of the Jew is merged in that of the Englishman or the American citizen. The objective influence of race in the evolution of nationality is a fiction, and the sole foundation or justification of nationality is the recognition of an organic community of interest with members of a group, subjected to the same social and political environment."<sup>1</sup>

"This prolonged examination of recent Anthropological, Ethnological researches and of the difficulties and absurdities involved in any attempt to settle the question of nationality and national character upon a basis of natural distinctions of endowment between different races of humanity, leads inevitably to the conclusion, that to envisage race as an operating objective factor in the evolution of societies is both unscientific and unphilosophical."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> \* Oskamith, *Race and Nationality*, pp. 78-79.



*Nationality or National Character.*

Gustave Le Bon says that every nation possesses a character which was fixed for it at some undated period which undergoes no fundamental change from generation to generation and which is called by a theological analogy, "the soul of the people!" this soul possesses fundamental characteristics, as immutable as anatomical characteristic of an animal species. In all the manifestations in the life of a people we always find the unchangeable soul of race weaving itself its own destiny. A variation of this view is current in Germany where it is held that the national characters of the various historical peoples were originally the product of their geographical environment. It is maintained that the first formation of national character under the influence of environment is final, decisive and unchangeable, being henceforward, transmitted by heredity. The theory of Le Bon has borrowed the highly controversial term "Soul" as the best means of expressing what is meant by the character of a nation. From this "soul" itself as constant in its immaterial qualities as an animal species in its anatomical characteristics have sprung, the various elements of which a civilization is composed. This "soul" is composed of certain "sentiments" such as perseverance, energy, power of self-control, and morality, intelligence being excluded from the list of these soul-forming sentiments and from any operative power over their action or development. "The Character and not the intelligence of a people determines its historical evolution. The fundamental factor in the fall of a nation is said to be a change in their mental constitution resulting from the deterioration of their character. It is 'character' thus divorced from intelligence which constitutes the unalterable soul of a people." Intellectual qualities are

capable of being modified by environmental influence such as education, qualities of character almost escape from that influence. No matter what external changes a nation may undergo, the soul of the people, its "character" maintains an impenetrable and a motionless stolidity. For all practical purposes the soul, the character of the nation is unchangeable. "Von Ihering though a convinced believer in the theory of the unalterable soul transmissible by heredity, says that the national character is the direct result of geographical and climatic conditions, and, is then transmitted by heredity." He summarises his conclusions in the pregnant phrase; "Soul is the nation"? Ratzel on the other hand, asserts that "the differences of national character are due to the operation of geographical influences." This theory of Ratzel is similar to that of Cecil Burt who attributes the transmission of mental qualities to heredity also. It is now held that national character is the product of environment and not of racial heredity.<sup>1</sup>

The following, account of the Pigmy Races of men is a short summary of a Lecture delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in April, 1888, and it may be found to be useful and interesting.

### *The Pigmy Races of Men.*

The dwarfish races of men were known by repute in ancient times to Homer, Herodotus, Aristotle, and even to Homeric singers. The combats between the pigmies and the cranes are often alluded to by classical writers, and are often depicted upon Greek Vases. They have also been described by Herodotus (Book 2, p. 32, Rawlinson's translation, p. 47). These people have been, in recent times carefully studied by M. De Quatrefagus,

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<sup>1</sup> Oakesmith: *Race and Nationality*, Chapter II, pp. 21-25.

the eminent Professor of Anthropology at the Museum D'Histoire Naturelle of Paris, from the records already in existence.

The physical characters of the race are, says an eminent anthropologist, really said to be deep-seated and acquired by heredity. They depend but little on external conditions, as abundance of food, climate, etc., and it is proved by well-known facts. The tallest and the shortest races of Europe, are said to be respectively the Norwegians and the Lapps, living on almost the same region. In Africa also the diminutive Bushmen and the tallest races of the country are close neighbours. The natives of the Andaman islands and those of many islands of the equatorial regions of the Pacific, wherein the conditions are similar, are at the opposite ends of the scale of height. Besides their small size, they all have in a strongly marked degree, the character of the hair distinguished as frizzly, *i.e.*, growing in very fine close curls, and flattened or elliptical in sections, and therefore whatever other structural differences they present, they all belong to the same Primary Branch of human species as the African Negro and the Melanesian of the Western Pacific.

It is of special interest in the study of the Andamanese, owing to the fact, that, since the extinction of the Tasmanians, they are the only set of people who have preserved their purity in their remote insular homes since the early stone ages. "Regarding their ideas of the universe, they believed that their island comprised the whole world, and that the visitors were their deceased forefathers whose return was intended to revisit the islands and see their descendants. The natives of India who are convicts or sepoys are called "Changla," *i.e.*, departed spirits. They have a strange notion that the world is as flat as a plate and badly balanced on the

top of a very tall tree, so as to be doomed, one day to be tilted over by a great earthquake, when the living and the dead will change places. The latter to expedite matters combine from time to time to shake the tree, and so to displace the wicker ladder by which it is connected with heaven. According to an Arab writer of the 9th century, the complexion of the Andamanese is "frightful, their hair frizzled, the countenance and eyes frightful, their feet very large and almost a cubit in length and they go quite naked." Marco Polo says that the people are no better than wild beasts. They have heads like dogs and teeth and eyes likewise; in the face, they are just like mastiff dogs.

The Andamanese are divided into nine distinct tribes, each inhabiting its own district. Eight of these live upon Great Andaman Islands, and one upon the unexplored Little Andaman. Each of these tribes has a distinct dialect. These dialects are traceable to the same source, and are all in the same stage of development of European civilization into the islands. They live in small villages or in houses of simple and rude construction built only of branches and leaves or in temporary camps of palm-leaf huts varying in size and durability. They are ignorant of agriculture, and keep poultry or domestic animals. They make rude pots of clay sun-dried or partially baked in the fire, and they are hand-made,—and are ignorant of potters' wheel. Their clothing is scanty and what little they have, serves only for decorative or ornamental purposes, and not for keeping the body warm. They make no use of the skins of animals. They have fairly well made dug-out canoes and outriggers fit for navigating the numerous creeks and straits between the islands and not for voyages in the open sea. They are expert swimmers and divers. They are ignorant of the art of producing fire, and have to spend much time

and labour in keeping up a constant supply of burning and smouldering wood. They are ignorant of all the metals. They use quartz chips and flakes, and bamboo knives. They have stone anvils and hammers, and they make good string from vegetable fibres, as well as baskets, fishing nets, and sleeping mats. Their principal weapons are bows and arrows in the use of which they are skilful. They use harpoons in killing turtles. The natural fertility of the island supplies them with a variety of food all the year round. They were ignorant of all stimulants. Water was their only beverage. Tobacco was unknown to them, until the arrival of the Europeans.

The social life of the Andamanese is buried in a complete maze of unwritten law or custom, the intricacies of which are most difficult for anybody to unravel. It is said that communal marriage system prevails among them, and that marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave. It is regarded merely as a temporary arrangement to be set aside at the will of either party, and no incompatibility of temper or any other cause is allowed to dissolve the union. Bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, adultery, and divorce are all unknown. In fact it is said that "one of the most striking features of their social relations is the marked equality and affection which subsist between husband and wife, and the consideration and respect with which women are treated, might with advantage be emulated by certain classes of civilized men." It should also be said that infanticide and cannibalism were never practised by them.

People, more or less similarly allied to the Andamanese, are found in the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides and in the Fiji. They are also dark in colour, frizzly haired, and many characteristics associate them with the Negroes of Africa. They constitute the race to which the term

Melanesian, or Negroid, or Oceanic is commonly applied. At one time, they occupied an area far more extensive than at present, but were encroached upon by the brown, straight-haired Polynesian race with Malay affinities now inhabiting many of the more important islands of the Pacific. The intermingling between them in diverse proportions has been the cause of the varying aspect of the population on many of the islands in this extensive region. The Melanesians greatly differ from the Andamanese in many easily defined characters, which are especially their larger stature, their long, narrow and high skulls, and their coarser and more Negro-like features. Although undoubtedly allied to them, they cannot be looked upon as the nearest relations of the Andamanese.

"The Aettas are of Malay origin with black complexion and with the frizzly hair of the African Negroes. So short are they with the resemblance that they are called little Negroes. They are faithful to their marriage vows, and have only one wife. The affection of parents for children is very strong, and the latter have for their father and mother much love and respect. The marriage ceremony is somewhat peculiar. The affianced pair climb two flexible trees placed near each other. One of the elders of the tribal bands binds them to each other. When their heads touch, the marriage is legally accomplished."

The Sunda Islands form the southern limits of the Negrito area and Formosa, the northern. But it is not in the islands that the Negrito races dwell. Traces of them are found on the mainland of Asia and everywhere under the same conditions. "In scattered tribes occupying the more inaccessible mountainous regions of countries, otherwise mainly inhabited by other races, and generally in a condition more or less of degradation and barbarism resulting from the oppression of the invading conquerors, they are more or less so much mixed, that

their original characters are scarcely recognizable." The Samang in the interior of Malacca, the Sakais from Perak, the Moys of Anam all show traces of Negrito blood. In India proper, especially among the lowest and least civilized tribes not only in Central and South India, but also at the foot of the Himalayas, in the Panjab, and even to the West of the Indus, small stature, frizzly hair, and other Negro features are found to exist. According to Quatrefagus and others, a strong argument is adduced for the belief in a Negrito race forming the basis of the whole pre-Aryan or Dravidian population of the peninsula.

The localities in which the Negrito people are found in their greatest purity are either in almost inaccessible islands as in the Andamans or elsewhere in the mountainous regions of the interior only. Their social condition and tradition all point to the fact that they were the earliest inhabitants. Africa is the home of another great branch of the black, frizzly-haired Ethiopian division of the human species. The Bushmen owing to their small size come within the scope of the present topic. They lead the life of the most degraded of savages living among the rocky and the more inaccessible mountains of the interior, making houses of the natural caves, subsisting entirely by the chase being most skilful in the use of bows and arrows, and treated as enemies and outcastes, by the surrounding and more civilized tribes for whose flocks and herds they show no respect when other game is not within reach. Their physical characteristics are similar to those already described. At present the habit of the Bushmen race is confined to certain districts in the south-west of Africa from the confines of the Cape Colony as far North as the shores of Lake Ngamy. Further to the north various Negro types are found to inhabit. They all present the common physical characteristics typical of the Negro race.



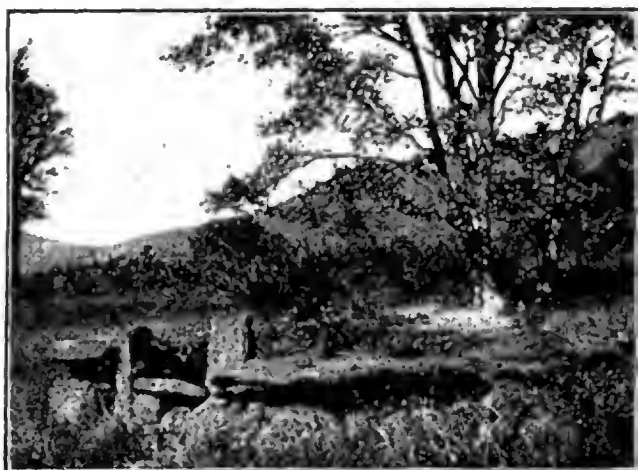




Dolmens in the Cochin State



Dolmens in the Cochin State



Megalithic Monuments in the Cochin State

The account just given above of the autochthones opens a large question and takes us back to the neighbourhood of the South of India as the centre from which the whole of the great Negro race spread, west over the African continent, and east over the islands of the Pacific. The Andamanese are probably the least modified descendants of the primitive members of the great branch of human species characterised by their black skins and frizzly hair.

### *Conclusion.*

From the foregoing account, it may be seen, that the term "Race" is a mental product or a concept which signifies 'inherited breed.' Heredity and race are synonymous in respect of physical characteristics. Racial migrations and distributions have been going on at all times, and they lead to the intermingling of races in all parts of the world. Consequently purity of race or purity of type is only in imagination. In all parts of the world, the advanced or the white races hold the backward races in more or less complete dependence, and this brings social economic and other hostile conflicts, mostly to the disadvantage of the latter. "A larger philosophy," says Brice, "may do much." A deeper and more earnest faith, which would strive to carry out in practice that sense of human brotherhood which Christianity, and other religions inculcate, might do more.

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### III

#### RACIAL HISTORY OF MALABAR, COCHIN AND TRAVANCORE.

*Introduction.*—Of the three ancient Dravidian Kingdoms of the South of India, Kerala is one. This ancient kingdom has a peculiar tradition of its origin and growth. Scholars are of opinion that the names of Chera and Kerala are only variants of one word.<sup>1</sup> Concerning the Geographical position of Kerala, mention is made of a Sanskrit work *Keralolpathi* (Origin of Kerala), according to which, the kingdom is said to have included North and South Canara, the District of Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, while according to another, it embraced the present Malabar district with the native states of Cochin and Travancore. The southern portion of Travancore known as Vénādu belonged to the Pāndiyan kingdom in the first century after Christ. During later times the Chera kingdom included the modern Coimbatore District and a portion of Salem. Generally Kerala means the rugged region of the Western Ghats south of the Chandragiri river. The limits of the Kingdom appear to have varied from time to time.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Burnell is of opinion, that for a thousand years from the third century B.C. the kingdom seems to have been a flourishing country extending over Mysore, Coimbatore, Thondinad, South Malabar, and Cochin, forming a triarchy of ancient Hindu kingdoms in the extreme south

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<sup>1</sup> Madras District Gazetteer, Malabar and Anjingo, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Census of India, 1901, Vol. XX, Introduction, pp. 1-3.

A Gord gathering honey

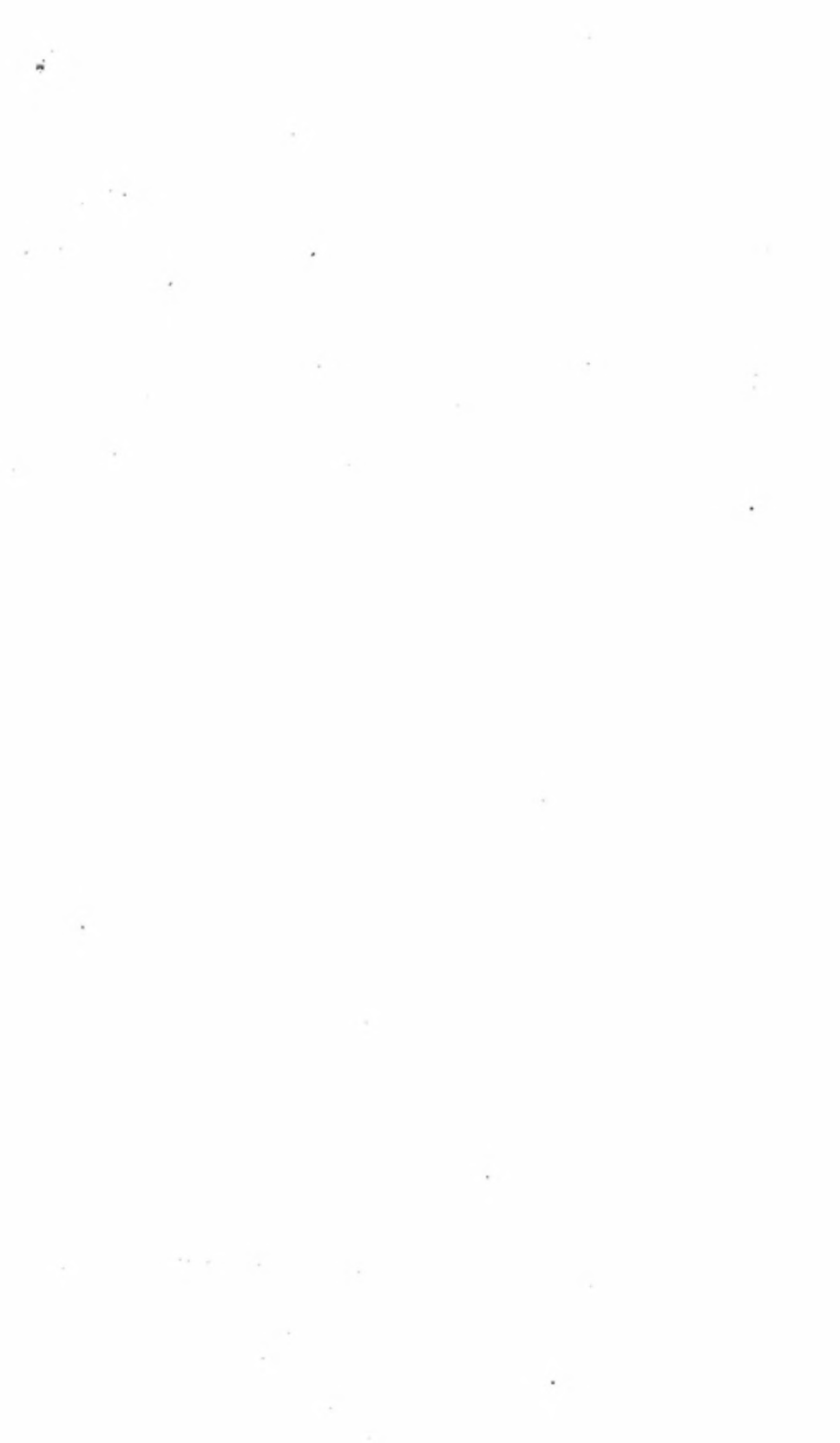






A Gond gathering honey









A Group of Kadars in the Cochin Forests

of India. Kerala, as ruled by the last of the Perumals, included the whole of South Malabar, the Cochin State, and Travancore.<sup>1</sup>

*Ancient Kingdom of Kerala—Its Traditional Origin.—*

The kingdom of Keraia is also known as *Parasurama Kshétram*, *Bhūrgava Kshétram* or *Karma Bhūmi* in the work above referred to. Malayalam or Malabar as applied to Kerala, South of South Canara is a linguistic and geographical name of later growth. The first two names, as they signify, owe their origin to the supposed creator of the land. According to the traditions described in the work, and current among the people, Parasurama in his sixteenth *avathar* or incarnation of Vishnu prayed to Varuna, the Indian Neptune, for a plot of land to colonize the Brahmans in expiation of the sin that had resulted in his extermination of the Kshatriya Dynasties thrice seven times. His prayer was granted, and he then peopled the country with Brahmans to whom he made a free gift of the lands and ordered them for the strict observance of religion and charity. This explains the meaning of the term *Karma Bhūmi*—the land where salvation has to be obtained by doing good actions. This legend may be considered to possess a nucleus of certain geological and historical facts.<sup>2</sup> The long narrow strip of country on the west coast extending from Gókarnam in the north and Cape Comorin in the South, and between the Ghats and the sea, might probably have been the result either of sudden upheaval of the sea due to some subterranean force or of the gradual recession of the waters from the sea. The physical features are peculiarly interesting. Isolated hills,—hillocks, rocks, small elevations of rocky grounds and sudden depressions, small table-lands and

<sup>1</sup> Census of India, 1901, Vol. XX, Introduction, pp. 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. William Taylor, Translation of the Ramayana Ancient Manuscripts, pp. 11 & 65.

plains in gradual succession, produce a very grand scenery. Further, lagoons and lakes, islands and sand banks, formed by the combined actions of river currents, tidal waves, and winds are met with in various localities on the sea-board. Hence it lends a peculiar charm to the land of scenery. The long narrow strip of country (*Karapuram*) extending from the southern end of land to the northern end of *Manappuram* or sandy tracts—with outlets into the Arabian sea at Cochin, Cranganur and Chéttuvay may be ascribed to the gradual formation of the land on the above influences. The island of Vypeen or *Puthuvaippu* (new formation or deposit) sixteen miles in length with a breadth of two furlongs to three miles, is a tract of this formation. A careful study of the physical features of the land, the geological conditions of the country may enable an expert to give a proper explanation for the legendary origin. The extermination of Kshatriyas referred to in the legend may be considered as pointing to the struggle for supremacy between the Brahmans and Kshatriyas in which the Mythical Hero is supposed to have played an important part. He is supposed to have been the leader of a band of Brahman colonists, who, pressed from behind, had to seek for "fresh lands and pastures new." This Brahman colonisation of Kerala may, in the ancient history of South India, be treated as forming part of the great Aryan movement between 1400 and 1000 B.C. The Epic makes mention of an encounter between its hero Rama and the Aryan Colonizer, Parasurama. Whether the mythical hero of the legend was the same mythical hero of the epic or not, it is not possible to say. There can be scarcely any doubt, that Kerala was known to the Aryans at a very early period at least in the first half of the fourth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Havell, *The History of the Aryan Rule in India*, p. 43.

*The Early History of Kerala.*—The kingdom of Kerala was known in ancient times as *Tamilakam* or the Tamil country. The Greek Geographer Ptolemy had a thorough knowledge of Southern India which he called *Damiraki*, a good transliteration of *Tamilakam*. In his time there was only the Tamil which was the spoken and written language of the people. No Aryan language had penetrated into these kingdoms which lived their own life, completely secluded from Northern India, and in touch with the outer world through the medium of maritime commerce, which had been conducted safely from very early times.

Early Tamil poetical literature, according to competent authorities, dates from the first three centuries of the Christian Era, and this gives a vivid picture of the state of society at that period. The Tamils had developed an advanced civilization of their own, quite independent of Northern India. Besides the chief three kingdoms already mentioned, there were about a hundred and twenty independent chieftains who shared the government of the country, and indulged in continuous internecine wars with greatest ferocity by the agency of the aboriginal tribesmen, the representatives of whom are the Maravar, Kallar and others of these days.<sup>1</sup> In this Tamil land were found to exist the three important commodities, *viz.*, pepper, pearls and beryls which attracted the foreigners. The pearls of the Gulf of Mannar, the beryls of Coimbatore and the pepper of Malabar were not to be had elsewhere, and were largely sought by foreign merchants as early as the seventh or eighth century B.C. Pepper fetched a very high price in the markets of Europe. It was so highly priced that when Alaric Goth levied his war indemnity from Rome in 409 A.D., his terms included the delivery of three

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<sup>1</sup> V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 439.

thousand pounds of pepper. The pearl fishery of the Southern Sea (Gulf of Mannar) had always attracted a crowd of foreign merchants. Beryl or Aqua Marine gem, closely related to the emerald, was highly esteemed by both the Indians and the Romans. Three Indian mines were recorded. The large and numerous hoards of Roman gold coins were found in the districts where mines were situated, and this testified to the activity of ancient commerce in the gems of Southern India. The mineral corundum, a variety of the ruby and sapphire, was also found abundantly in Salem and Coimbatore. This affords another indication of the knowledge of the people of ancient Europe with the products of the Indian gem mines. The Tamil states maintained powerful navies, and were visited by ships from both the east and west which brought merchants of various races to purchase the above-mentioned commodities. "The native Dravidian craft was of early creation and of great influence in the interchange of ideas as well as commodities, not only in South India, but in the Persian Gulf, and the coasts of Arabia and Africa with which the trade was principally maintained."<sup>1</sup>

The Roman aureus circulated in Southern India as freely as the English sovereign passes on the continent of Europe. The Roman bronze partly imported and partly minted at Madura was commonly used in the bazaars. There is some good reason to believe that large colonies of Roman subjects engaged in trade were settled in Southern India during the first two centuries, and the powerful Yavanas, clad in complete armour, acted as body-guards to Tamil kings. The beautiful large ships of the Yavanas lay off Muzuris or Cranganore to receive the cargoes of pepper paid for by Roman gold. It is even said, that a temple was dedicated to Augustus

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<sup>1</sup> Imp. Gaz., Vol. II, p. 322.

Cæsar at Muzuris. But the town and the harbour disappeared long ago, and is now buried under vast mounds of sands. Not a trace now remains of its former greatness. The Tamil poems relate of the importation of Yavana wine, lamps and vases, and their testimony is confirmed by the discovery in the Nilgiri megalithic tombs of numerous bronze vessels similar to those known to have been produced in Europe during the early centuries of the Christian Era.<sup>1</sup>

Scholars still maintain the early date of the best Tamil poems as the Augustan age of Tamil literature, during the first three centuries of the Christian Era. Other arts besides poetry, music, drama, painting, and sculpture were said to have been cultivated with success; but the statues and pictures made of perishable materials are no longer in existence. Better evidence is given by the Dravidian alphabet which is supposed to have been derived from a Semitic (Hemiaritic or Phœnician) original, and to have dated from about 1000 B.C., while the Kharosthi alphabet was formulated after the conquest about 500 B.C.

The religion of the people was mostly confined to the original devil worship, and this was persistently attacked by the three religions from the north—Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism. The former was gradually forced into the back-ground. The most powerful demoness was afterwards transformed into Uma or Durga, the consort of Siva. Jainism was introduced in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, in 309 B. C., and the Jain emigrants are said to have settled in Sravana Belgola in Mysore where their sainted leader Bhadrabahu starved himself to death in the approved Jain manner. The present successor of the great saint is recognised as the pontiff of all the

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<sup>1</sup> V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 444.

Jains of Southern India. The successful importation of Buddhism was the work of Asoka's brother, Mahendra, and other missionaries sent out by the great Emperor during the third century B. C. This imperial religion does not appear to have become the dominant creed of the south during several centuries. It died out during the 7th century, being overshadowed by both Jainism and Hinduism. The mysterious order of Brahmanical organisation finally won the day. The rules of caste were enforced in the south with far greater rigour than in the north. There was no slavery among the ancient Tamils. Megasthenes has stated that all Indians were free. Mention is made of Kerala, which appears in corrupt forms in the works of Pliny and Periplus. The most ancient Chera capital is said to have been Vanchi (Thiruvanchikulam) now represented by a small village with an ancient Sivite temple high up the Periyar river about 28 miles east of Cochin. Some, however, erroneously believe that Karoor in the Coimbatore District was the Chera capital.

During comparatively later periods, the State of Cochin abounds in historical interest. It was that part of India, which first came in contact with the ancient Phoenician navigators and traders. The sons of Israel, afraid of persecutions in their country, fled from it, and took shelter near Cranganore. It was in this state that St. Thomas the Apostle first preached his Gospel to the natives of the soil. It was near Cranganore that the Romans had in the 3rd century stationed two cohorts to safeguard their commercial interests in the east. It was here again that the Arab Moors found a ready market for European goods in exchange for the pepper and spices of the coast. It was here again where the enterprising nations of modern Europe (the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English) in their early voyages of conquests, commerce, and conversion, landed for the first time



on the shores of India. There had been at different times small colonizations of the nations above mentioned, and their members freely intermingled with the low-caste women of the soil. Their descendants are still to be seen in various parts of Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, mingled in diverse proportions with the people of the soil. Hence it is that these kingdoms are very interesting fields for ethnological work. The kingdom of Kerala which now comprises the British District of Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore is regarded by some as an epitome of India and "plays in Indian Anthropology, the part of a happy and undisturbed fossiliferous stratum." The State may be regarded as a Museum, in which are preserved alive survivals, of nearly all the the ancient peoples, religions, laws, manners and customs. The old and the new can be studied together within that limited area in a way which is not possible elsewhere. Here it is that a scientific study of History and Anthropology should command the attention of scholars.

*Original inhabitants of Malabar.*—Ethnologists like Professor Keane and others consider the possibility of a pre-Dravidian race in Southern India prior to the immigration of the Dravidians. The primitive inhabitants of India and South India, in particular, the black men of the hill tribes, differ from the Aryan invaders, and form part of the Southern long-haired group. The southern centres of long-headedness may have once formed part of a single continent which occupied the basis of the Indian Ocean. "From the particular geographical localization about the latter centre of Lemurs, a species allied to the monkeys together with certain other mammals, some naturalists have advocated the theory of the existence of a continent which once united India and Australia." Whether this hypothetical land mass ever existed or not, the present geographical distribution of



long-headedness points to a common derivation of the African, the Australian, and the Melanesian races between whom stand, as a connecting link, the Dravidian or aboriginal inhabitants of India. The phenomena of skin colour, and of hair only serve to strengthen the hypothesis.

Modern investigations relating to races thus tend to show that South India was the passage ground for the ancient progenitors of the northern and the Mediterranean races to the various parts of the globe wherein they inhabit. Here, as in others, the antiquarian remains show the existence of peoples who used successively implements of wrought and then unwrought stones and metals fashioned in the most primitive manner. These tribes have also left cairns, stone pillars, and stone circles indicating the burial places, and it has been usual to set these down as earlier than Dravidian. The sepulchral urns of Tinnevely may be either pre-Dravidian or Dravidian. Many such megalithic and sepulchral urns are found in all parts of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, and some were excavated by me and the specimens were preserved and exhibited in the State Museum at Trichur in the Cochin State.

In anthropological characters the Dravidian aborigines in India forcibly remind us of the Australians. Dealing with the ethnical affinities of the Dravidas, Prof. A. H. Keane says that, although they preceded "the Aryan-speaking Hindus they are not the true aborigines of the Dekhan, for they were themselves preceded by dark peoples probably of an aberrant negroid type. Many distinguished ethnologists have regarded the Australians as closely related to or associated with the Dravidians of India. The affinities are based upon linguistic considerations, the land connection in a previous geological epoch, and on certain resemblances of physical types.





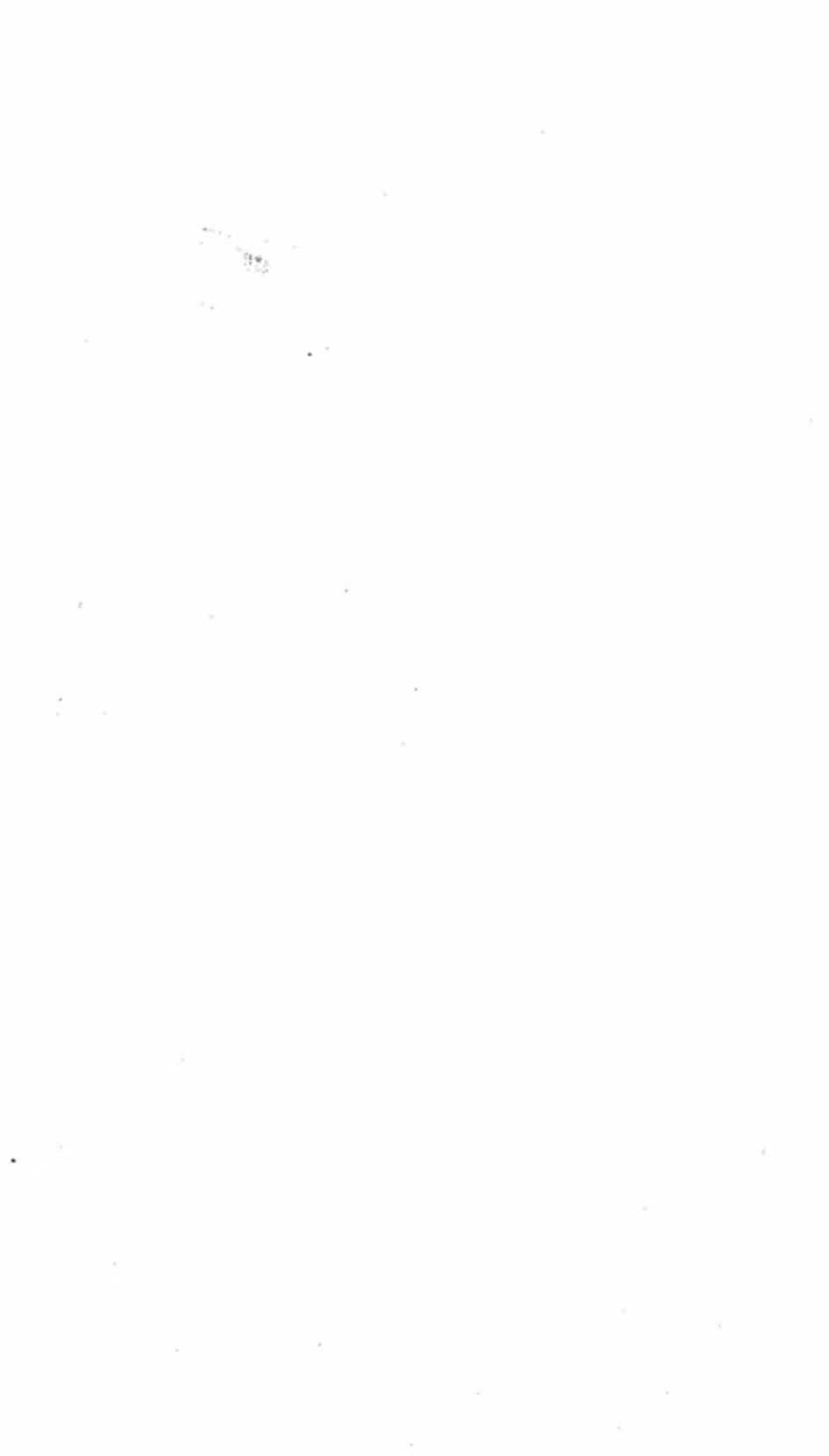
A Group of Vétuva Women in the Forests of North Malabar

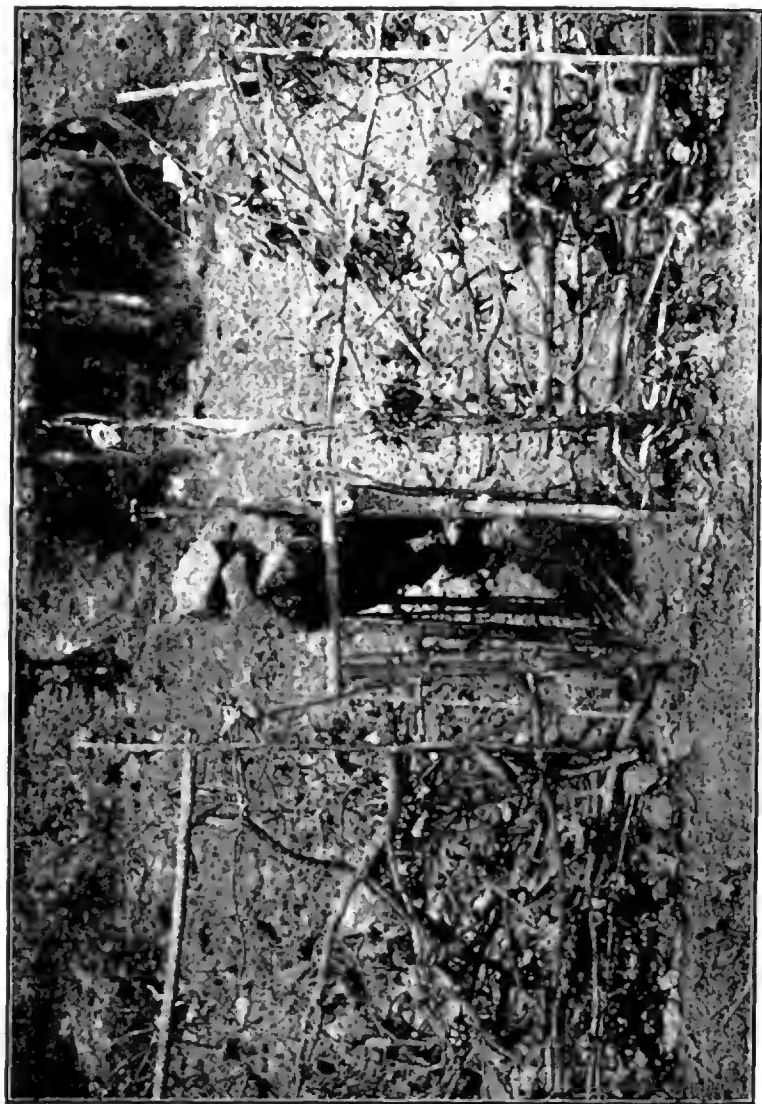
Both the Dravidians and the Australians have dark skins, dark eyes, either straight, wavy or curly, but not woolly or frizzly, thick lips, low nose with wide nostrils, usually short stature, though the Australians are somewhat smaller than the Dravidians.

On Ethnographical considerations there is also a kind of affinity between the Dravidians of South India and other tribes allied to the Australians. The Dyaks of Borneo, the Kadars, and other hillmen of South India are remarkable for their tree-climbing. The chipping of all or some of the incisor teeth is prevailing among the Kadars of Cochin and the Mala Vedans of Travancore as among the Jackoons of the Malaya peninsula. The wearing of the bamboo combs by the women of these types, and the existence and use of boomerangs are found among the Australians and the allied tribes.

“‘The pre-Dravidian type’ of the so-called primitive or mountain tribes or savages,” says Ratzel, “has negroid elements in the flat nose, the bulging mouth, the prognathous upper jaw, sparse beard somewhat more abundant on the chin only. Stature is generally small, and the dwarfs of India belong to this kind. Prof. Keane says that these autochthones were the first arrivals in India, and were undoubtedly the negrito whom he called the submerged element; because they now form the substratum, have in no way preserved their racial or social independence, have even lost their aboriginal negrito speech, and are now everywhere merged in the surrounding Kolarian and Dravidian populations. Regarding their migration to India Herr Fehlinger thinks that they reached partly from Africa and partly from Australia. Prof. Keane, on the other hand, differs from the view above advanced, and says that these dark autochthones were pigmies, and the Samangs and Sakais still survive in the Malaya peninsula. From Malaysia these woolly-headed negritos could have moved through Tennasserim and Arakhan round the Bay of Bengal to the Himalayan slopes where they have left traces of their former presence, and whence they gradually spread over the peninsula, most probably in early palæolithic times.”<sup>1</sup>

Their spoor may everywhere be followed from the flat-faced, curl-haired Koch of Assam with thick protuberant lips of the Negro to the dark and irregularly featured Nepalese, to the Santhals of Chota Nagpur, as also to the low-caste hillmen of Southern India. They might justly be regarded as the unimproved descendants of the manufacturers of the stone implements found in the Damodar coal fields. They are the true aborigines, the Asuras, from whom a considerable proportion of the black pigment is derived, and that has darkened the skin of a large section of the Indian population. "The whole Indian peninsula like some of the Malaya Islands and New Guinea, says Sir Harry Johnstone, is permeated with the Negro blood of the original Asiatic Negro black, which is found subsisting in a more or less pure form in the Andaman islands, and many of the South Indian tribes in the Malaya peninsula, and in the great islands north-east of New Guinea and in New Guinea itself." This fact was fully established by the recent researches of Mr. E. Thurston, Mr. Nanjudiah of Mysore, and of myself for Cochin. The numerous photographs of types of caste fully strengthen the theory above advanced. Then came the Dravidians from the North-west where some Brahui still survive. Lastly came the Aryans. "The migrating race is a conquering race, crosses with the females of the conquered race, and not *vice versa*. It is one of the well established results of exact investigations in Anthropology that, in a mixed race, the eyes, the hair colour of the mother-race tend to persist, and that the mental characteristics of the mixed race are likely to be derived from the conquering or the father race." The truth of this maxim has been substantiated by Dr. Boas in his anthropometric examinations of the American Indians and by myself on some of the higher castes of Cochin. In India the later immigrants intermingled with the black aborigines.





A Primitive Tiger-trap

and afterwards crossed with the Aryans. The same remark may apply to the Dravidians. There are many aberrant groups showing divergencies in all directions as among the Kurumbas and Todas of the Nilgiris. The present population of Southern India is the product of a complete intermingling of the races above mentioned, to which the population of Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, are no exceptions. Here we find Negroid features, in the types among the hillmen and the agrestic serfs, and the Dravidian features among the people of the plains, the fine Aryan characteristics among the people of the higher castes.

*Clan and Tribe.*—In this connection it may be found necessary to briefly explain the terms, tribe and clan, both of which, indicate relationship in a narrow sense. They are properly sub-divisions of the race, or family groups connected by ties of blood, and recognise a common social organization under elders or chiefs, whether hereditary or elected. Under the clan system descent was probably, at the outset, reckoned only through the female line, and therefore uterine ties alone constituted a kinship, and the father was not regarded as even related to his own children, nor considered as a member of the family as still among the Nayars of the Malabar coast. In this system all the children bear the clan name through the mother, and the clan name thus becomes the test of blood relationship. But, when descent is recognised through the male line, the clan system breaks down and the clan merges in the tribe. Persons belonging to the same clan never marry. The husband and wife must be of different clans.

It may also be noted that tribe is not merely a group of clans, but that its constitution may be changed by the gradual substitution of patriarchal for matriarchal tribes. During this process the exogamous unions are continued



through force of custom, the result being a gradual weakening of the ties of blood on which the clan was chiefly based. Therefore, the idea of consanguinity persists, and the tribe depends to a certain extent on common social and political institutions, and less on actual kinship. Certainly the foreign elements enter slowly, and are to a great extent slowly absorbed, so that the physical characters of the group are maintained for a long time. Sometimes the tribe among peoples at a low grade of culture is generally taken as a consanguineous group in ethnology. The survivals of this system, somewhat modified by the influence of the Brahmans, during the long lapse of time, can even now be seen in castes in which the matrilineal line of inheritance prevails.

*Aryan Immigration.*—It is said that the Aryan influence must have been very great in the Dekhan and in South India long before the foundation of the Maurayan Empire. It was not until after Asoka's death that the South Indian Dynasties began to play an important part in the politics of Northern India. Long before Asoka's mission the Aryans penetrated to the South of the Vindhya range. Agastya was the first Aryan sage who brought the wisdom of the Vedas to the Dravidians of the South. According to the Ramayana Sri Rama is said to have visited his forest hermitage, and a temple dedicated to his memory in the Tanjore District still exists. The extent of the great Aryan culture attributed to the sage is very great. The legendary epoch connected with him has been referred to the eighth century B. C. Some however question the accuracy of this chronology, but the period points to the opening up of South India to an Aryan civilization which has so completely absorbed the pre-existing Dravidian traditions. The Dravidian languages became the vehicle of thought, and Aryan ideas the main-spring of all progressive movements political and social.

The three oldest Dravidian dynasties claimed descent from the Aryan heroes of the Mahabharata.<sup>1</sup>

It is quite possible that the Aryan immigration to the kingdom of Kerala through South India must have begun from a remote period ; but the Aryan Nambuthiris must have colonised the kingdom long afterwards. The Nambuthiri Brahmans appear to have come to Malabar from the North. It is very likely that they must have found the Nayars, the Pulayans, and the Izhuvans among the original inhabitants. Later researches point to an earlier date for their settlements. The Hiradgalli and other Pallava grants testify to the fact that the Brahmans settled in South India during the fourth or the fifth century A. D. (Epigraphia Indica, I. 8). It has been always said that there is no reference in the Mithakshara to the *Sarvaswadanam* marriage of the Nambuthiris as a form of adoption then in general use, and that they have separated themselves, from their fellow-men in Upper India, before this form of adoption became obsolete, *i. e.*, long before the fourth or fifth century. But this statement cannot be conclusively proved.

The Nambuthiris were originally a militant and ruling people, and their descendants long afterwards, a docile and priestly class. This fact is supported even now by the habitual tone of sentiment observable in the intercourse between Aryan Nambuthiris and Dravidian Sudras, especially the Nayars and other low-caste men. Reverence and homage are still, in most parts of Kerala, paid ungrudgingly by one party, and accepted by the other in a corresponding spirit. This can be seen even now, in the ordinary conversation of the former with the latter. Priestly, peace-loving, and non-interfering as the Nambuthiris have been, their conduct towards the mass savours of a spirit which is almost similar, to that of a

<sup>1</sup> E. B. Havell. The History of Aryan Rule in India, pp. 127, 130.

conqueror, and is beyond that which can be explained by the theory and precepts of Manu. It may reasonably be supposed that the binding predominance in the community might have been the result of as much of an acceptance by the force of arms, as by the superior influence of their culture. Even now the Nambuthiris are pre-eminently the *Jenmies* or Landlords in Kerala, and the sole repositories of religious knowledge among its peoples, excepting the Sudras (Nayars), who were the original settlers, simple cultivating or non-cultivating tenants lorded over by an aristocracy, whose dominance in its immediate and distant results, had influenced everything in the land. The Nambuthiri traditions recorded that the land was first brought into being by their divine leader for special use, but the occupation of Kerala must be considered as connected with the Aryan conquest of India.

The colonization of Kerala by the Nambuthiris may, to a certain extent be divided into three periods ; first a time of war, then a time of local settlement, and lastly, a time of social assimilation and national consolidation. The traditions are referred to more than one migration of Nambuthiris at comparatively short intervals, of which only the first under the leadership of Parasurama, seems to have been of the nature of a military invasion. These earliest Aryan adventurers, who are regarded as having come from the North, appear to have had a very hard time of it at the outset. They are said to have met with a steady opposition from the Nagas or serpent class. Some regarded these Nagas as mere serpents with which the land was infested, and the fear of which led the early colonists to their return home, while others regarded them as the early Dravidians who were in all probability the ancestors of the Nayars.

Nayars are, by some believed to be the aboriginal inhabitants of South India. They were divided into two

sections—the earlier or the savage section and the later or the semi-civilized section. The former belonged to the Negrito race, and the latter to a mixed one. The earliest tribes were driven to the hills and forests, and the latter occupied the whole of South India as far as Nagpur in the Central Provinces. They might probably have been the Vánarás or the Rákshasas of the Rámáyana.<sup>1</sup> I differ from the views above advanced. They were probably the “cultured Dravidians.”

The Aryans at first appear to have had a great struggle with the early inhabitants of the land for their occupation. They had the necessity to rise equal to the occasion and helped their followers in the task of conquest and settlement. The Nambuthiris themselves were the prominent warriors. We still see among them, a section of weapon-bearers (*A'yudha pánikals*), and a few others according to the tradition, suffered social degradation for causing bloodshed and committing slaughter at the feuds and quarrels of bygone ages.

The Edappilly Nambiáthiris, the chief Raja of Edappilly, an *A'dyan* or high class Nambuthiri, took an active part in the wars during the Portuguese periods. The Aynikkur Nambidies according to tradition murdered one of the Perumals. They are now represented by the Kakkád Káranavappàd as the eldest male member of the family is styled. He played an important part in the wars between the Raja of Cochin and the Zamorin of Calicut. The Peráttupurath Nambuthiris known as *Panikkar* was from time immemorial, the instructor of the ruling family of Cochin in all the arts of war, and enjoyed till lately pension from the Darbar, though he long ago ceased to discharge his duties as such. Ambalapuzha Raja and some other chiefs of the present days are also Nambuthiris.

*The Aryan Settlement.*—After the conquest of the kingdom, the Nambuthiris settled in villages already occupied at the time by the Agricultural Dravidians. The latter were classed as Sudras, along probably with their non-Aryan followers. New villages were established by fresh immigrants who were supposed to have come from the North-East. After the settlement of all in the land, Parasurama is said to have been their ruler for a time, and looked after their welfare. He is also said to have laid down those peculiar lines on which social assimilation and national consolidation have since proceeded. He introduced some innovations amongst his followers, and among other things, he prevailed upon the new-comers to wear their tufts of hair on the top of their head as opposed to the practice of having it at the back side as in other parts of India. With the keen insight of a true statesman he appears to have next attempted to conciliate the masses by assimilating the Aryan system and practice which he found prevailing among the conquered. The patriarchal family system continued, but the mode of inheritance, the constitution, the management and participation of the ancestral property were modified from the typical Aryan standard.

“The Nambuthiri Law of inheritance, resembles, in some respects, the English Law of primogeniture. The eldest son alone inherits the family titles, and properties by virtue of his exclusive function of perpetuating the family by forming conjugal relations within the community itself, while the others formed matrimonial alliances with the women of the Non-Aryans (Sudras). The eldest male member of the joint family or the *Kārnavan* who may be one of his uncles on the paternal side manages the affairs of the family. Junior male members are entitled to the right of maintenance from the family. Thus the Nambuthiris have long been maintaining their racial purity by the strict observance of endogamy, and securing the impartibility of the family estates by a peculiar law of inheritance while the surplus maidens are disposed of by a system of polygamy. The

result of such a system on the social and moral condition of their community and of the population in general has been manifold, but has not been devoid of evils also.

Thus the Aryan conquest and occupation was as complete in Kerala as in other parts of India. But the social assimilation was not quite so satisfactory here as might have been expected. The continuance of the matriarchal family system in vogue among the people shows, that the Aryan influence was not quite so strong here as in other parts. But in other respects their influence was stronger here than elsewhere. The continuance of the Dravidian social system to modern times was rendered possible, and could be explained only by the Nambuthiri dominance. Through motives of self interest they allowed a large number of their males, without any loss of property, to shift for themselves, as best as they could, by entering into matrimonial alliances with the women of the conquered, and did their best to perpetuate a primitive system of descent and inheritance among the conquered. The Nambuthiris found this system to be of great advantage to their peculiar social system and to urgent needs, limiting the female element in their community and indirectly encouraging the peculiar family system obtaining among them. It was therefore as much a matter of personal necessity as of deliberate choice. Here we find an explanation for the great alteration in their life and character, which they could not continue in their original system of life, but had to modify it in essential particulars. The condition of their new environments very much encouraged their requirements. The Aryan conquest of Kerala as already observed, was effected as much by the influence of their culture as by the force of arms. The pre-Aryan settlers became gradually the willing and admiring disciples of a religion and civilization which they were taught to revere, while the Aryans who

had already become the ruling elements of the body politic, began to direct the religious and social life of the entire population.

The peculiar relations thus established between the Aryans and the Non-Aryans tended to produce wider and more important results. Of these the most important in its consequence is the evolution of a caste hierarchy of a rigid type with endless grades of subordination which varied according to the nature and extent of culture and occupation. The conquerors and the conquered lived side by side, and were gradually bound together into a political unity with an abiding sense of nationality. To a great extent the Non-Aryans retained their vernacular languages and their social customs. The infusion of Aryan blood by matrimonial alliances, has been freely allowed in the Nayar community as a whole, whose blood on the other hand has been guarded against intermixture with that of the lower orders. This was effected in a singular manner by establishing a sort of atmospheric pollution when they approached the lower orders within certain specific distances. Thus the Nayers as a people become what they are by the mixture of the Aryan and Dravidian elements. This process has been going on from the date of the conquest to the present day. As for the rest, the artisan classes, the Izhuvans &c., represent the original inhabitants with comparatively little or no intermixture. Each of these groups keeps up the characteristics of the original community modified only by such changes as altered circumstances bring with them. All the social features peculiar to Kerala had their origin in the early period of the history of the land and must have been in continuation. The dominant Nambuthiris adopted the speech, and imbibed unconsciously the customs, laws, and faiths of the Dravidians. They gave up their language in favour of that of the conquered.



The Malayalam language was in its turn greatly modified by a large influx of Sanskrit words to express the ideas of Aryan culture, just as the English language received a large importation of Norman-French words after the Norman conquest of England.

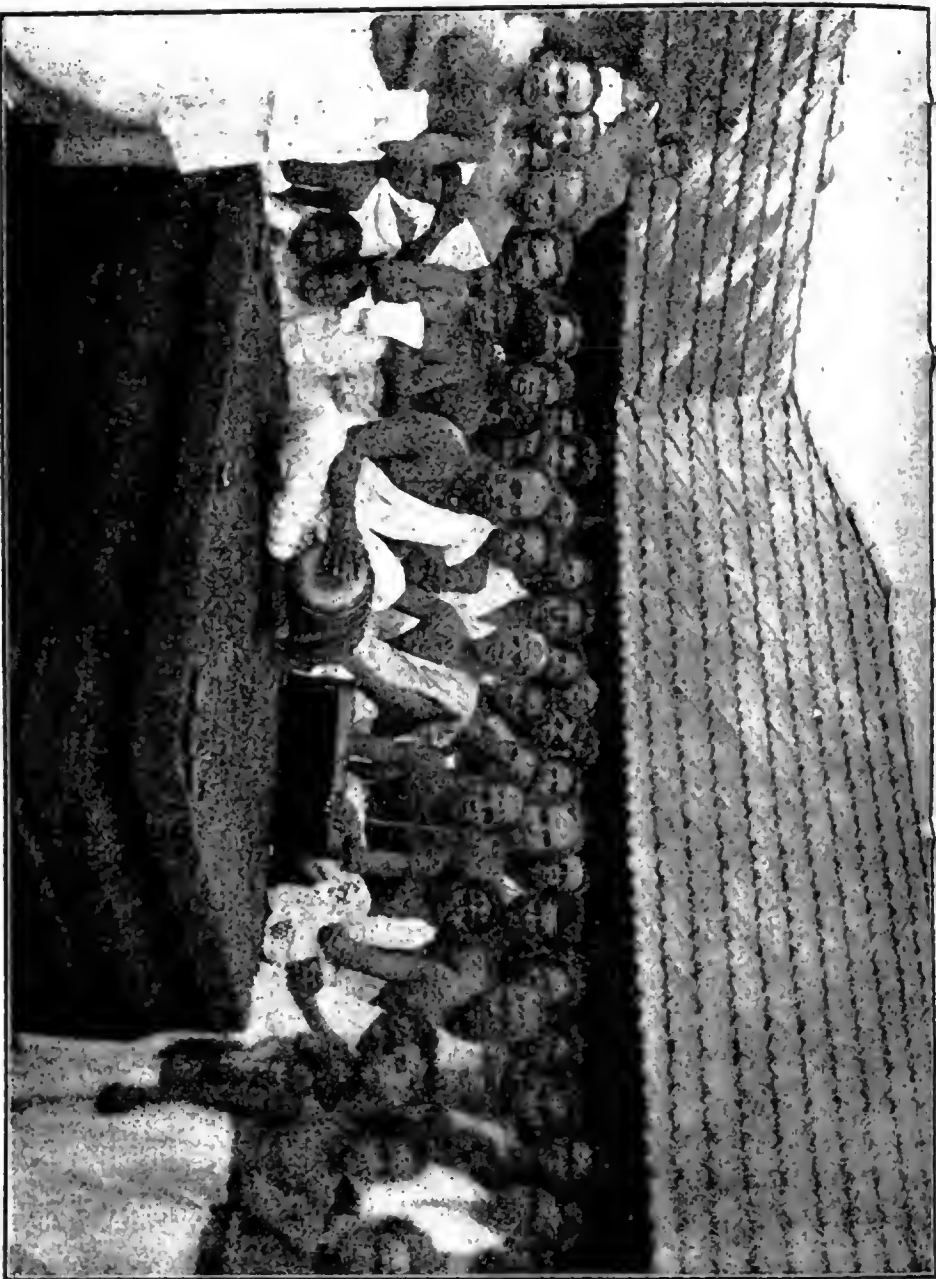
*The Brahman Government.*—The political predominance of the Aryans over the conquered Dravidians was lightened by a simple process. The Government and the administration were vested in the Aryan Brahmans, but the function seems to have at last developed upon the Nayar leaders or soldiers, who, though designated as Sudras by the Nambuthiris, began to discharge the duties of the Kshatriyas. The Institutions of *thara* and *nád* yet did not disappear altogether. Their headmen continued to exercise their functions under the authority of the Nambuthiri chieftains, just as in the matter of land the original settlers themselves continued under a Nambuthiri overlordship to be the real occupants and cultivators of the soil.

The Nambuthiris settled by groups in *grámmams* or villages numbering sixty-four in all, each of which contained a number of *tharas*. Groups of villages were placed under chieftains known as *taliyádiris* who were nominated for three years by special electors chosen from among the sixty-four *grámmakhars* (Villagers). When the *taliyádiris* were first appointed, there was no king in Kerala. All matters spiritual and social to the community were managed by their own councils, the deliberations of which were controlled by specialists, whose decisions were subject to the confirmation of the *taliyádiris*. As for the country generally a theocratic council became the supreme socio-political institution; the *nád* and the *thara* themselves became subject to it in a quassi feudal order. A people with strong communal feeling became the masters and rulers of the



land. Under the original system which was a little above the tribal organisation there were meagre connecting links between the people of the different parts of Kerala. With the establishment of a central Government together with the prevalence of a common language, the germs of nationality were sown among the various tribes inhabiting the land. Gradually, with the increase of population and the conflict of interest and disputes, dissensions began to exist among the Nambuthiri chieftains. The difficulty is said to have been overcome by an agreement amongst the aristocrats themselves, by which they resolved to bring from the neighbouring kingdoms of Chera, Chola, or Pandya, Perumals (Great men) to rule the land for a period of twelve years. There is also another account about the origin of Perumal's rule. As Kerala was subject to one or other kingdoms on the other side of the Ghauts, the Perumals were the Viceroys of those kings, but the features of the political system conflict with the theory of a military conquest. The Perumals are said to have governed Kerala according to the wishes of the Aristocracy who took measures of security against training. When Perumals assumed office they had to take an oath so comprehensive as to embrace all possible checks on tyrannical rule. According to one story, a Perumal had been condemned, and put to death by the vote of the Brahman assembly, for breach of faith and a few others deposed and sent back for defying the authority of the oligarchy. The dissensions among the *taliyádiris* necessitated the appointment of the Perumal to rule over the kingdom. It is very probable that the organized body of the Aryans like the Patricians of the Ancient Rome arrogated all power to themselves as a privileged class and tyrannised over the Plebian Sudras and other castes. The warlike Nayars might have on that account





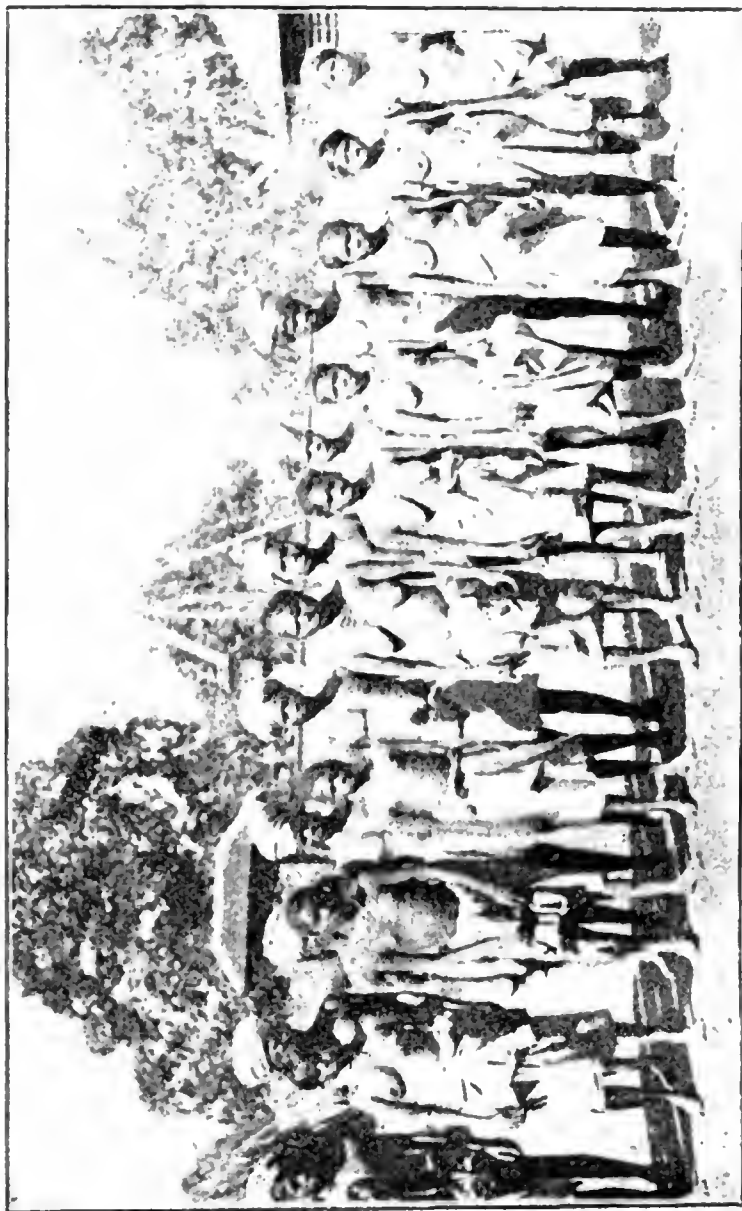
A Group of Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, Trichur, Cochin State

grown restive and aggressive. The Nambuthiris on the contrary became more and more priestly and peace-loving by profession and by habit, perhaps finding themselves unequal to the task of restoring order, and therefore appealed to the ruler of one of the neighbouring kingdoms for support. The sentiment and tradition led the Nambuthiris to take to a kingly house for a ruler; reason guided them to the effect that the monarchy which they wished to establish should not be either absolute, or hereditary, but should be both limited and elective. In all nearly 25 Viceroys are said to have been chosen from the Royal houses of Chera, Chola, and Pandya. Some of them did not rule out their term of twelve years. A few died premature deaths, while others were deposed for their misgovernment. The probable date of the advent of the first Perumal and the commencement of his rule was 216 A.D. The renowned Cheraman Perumal is said to have been the last of them.

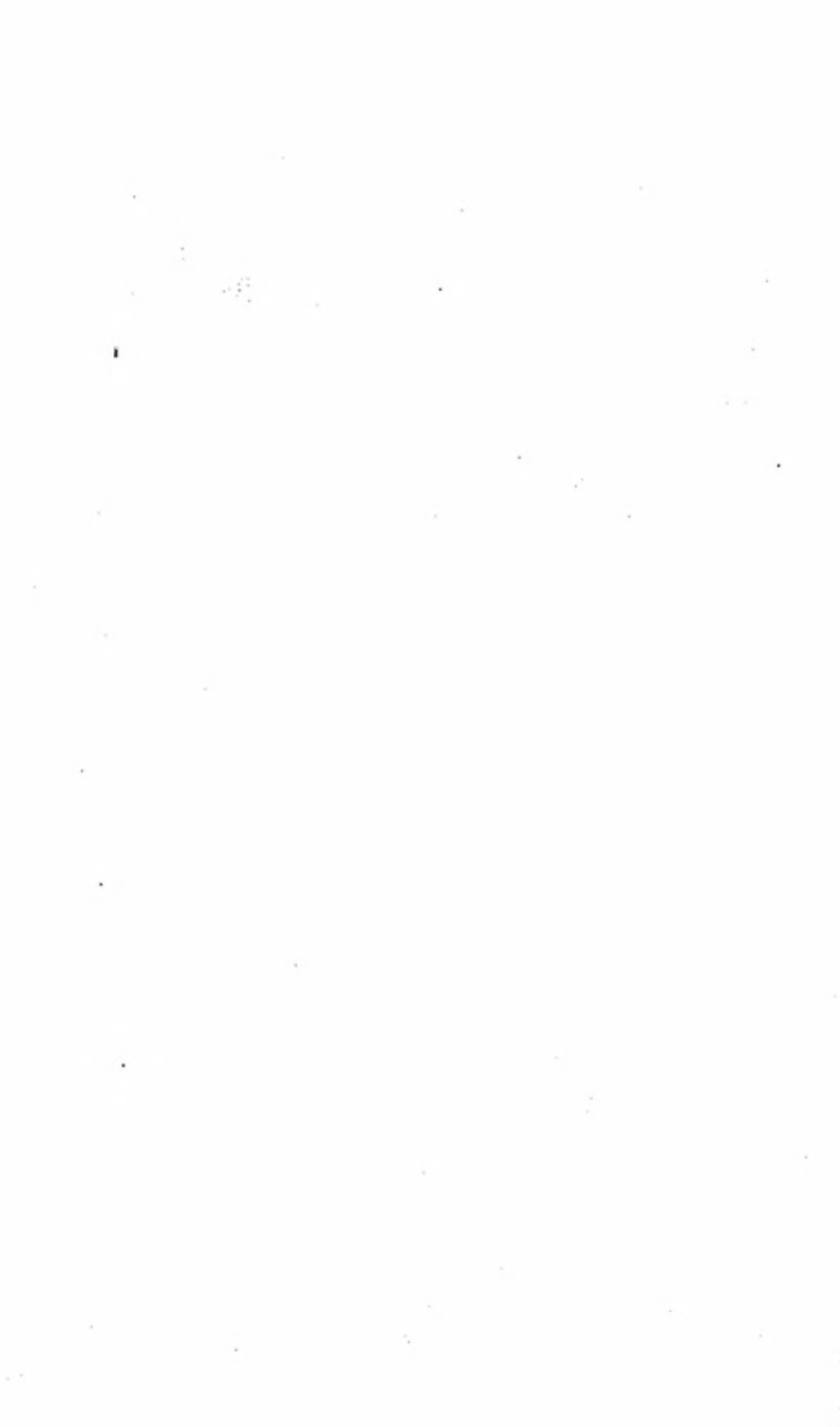
The political state of the country seems to have undergone a gradual but a radical change. During the early centuries of the Christian era the kingdom was exposed to the attacks of enemies from without. The Perumal first governed the land under the guidance and advice of the *taliyádiris* and their council, but subsequently their power became absolute. In its political division and subdivision, the Nádu-vázhis and Désavázhis became the vassals of the ruling chiefs. The kingdom was thus constituted into a number of fiefs, the vassal chiefs exercising almost sovereign authorities within the limits of their own territories. The political state was gradually approximating to a national government of the federal type, with the Perumal at the head, and his feudal chiefs ruling over the constituent principalities.

Thus by a long gradual fusion, the Aryan Nambuthiris formed marriage alliances with the Dravidian Nayar women, and produced the Aryan racial type of people spread over the whole kingdom. They contributed a great deal to their intellectual, moral, and spiritual development. The Nayars, though styled as Malayali Sudras, differ ethnically in no way from the Malayali Brahmans, and are, in every way, superior to their brethren in other parts of India. The hill tribes and agrestic serfs present negroid features, while others exhibit Dravidian characteristics. There is a greater blending of the Aryan and Dravidian races in Malabar than in other parts of India.

*Conclusion.*—The Kingdom of Kerala is one of the three Dravidian kingdoms claiming descent from the Aryan heroes of Mahabharata. The early history of the kingdom is buried in obscurity; nevertheless, the prehistoric monuments found in various parts of the kingdom reveal the existence of a people during the later neolithic period. Probably they were the Dravidians who developed a civilization of their own. The Aryan immigration must have begun from a remote period, and the early Dravidian social organization was greatly modified by the Aryan culture. Though the achievements of the Aryan philosopher were undoubtedly great in the field of abstract thought, they were not more remarkable than the success of a small colony of people vastly outnumbered by the congeries of different races which India has always contained, in welding together these heterogeneous elements physically, intellectually, socially, and politically in the organisation of the village communities. The result was not less remarkable, because several of the non-Aryan elements, especially the Dravidian, made great intellectual contributions to the common fund, and because the Aryan Racial type never became very widely distributed.



A Group of Pulayans, Trichur, Cochin State



over the whole kingdom. "Ethnographic investigations show that the Indo-Aryan type described in the Epics as a tall, fair complexioned, long-headed race, with narrow prominent noses, broad-shoulders, long arms, 'slim waists like a lion' and 'thin legs like a deer' is now confined to Kashmir, the Punjab, and the Rajputana and in Malabar."

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## IV.

### CASTE.

#### *Introduction.*

The Institution of Caste has exercised a very powerful influence upon the interests of mankind. It is said that caste existed in ancient times among the Egyptians, Colchians, Iberians, Medes, Persians, and the Etruscans, as also among the Mexicans and Peruvians in the New World. It existed also among the earliest of the Attic tribes and the Spartans whose trades and occupations were almost all hereditary. The laws of caste are said to have prevailed among the Saxons. It is in India that the caste system has reached the highest development, while in most other countries, it had gradually ceased to exist. In India there is the permanent separation of caste with hereditary occupations assigned to each; and the most ancient documents regarding its origin are found in the ancient Sanskrit literature.

The origin of caste is one of the most important problems in the social history of India, for a proper understanding of which, it is necessary to avoid the error of imagining that a thousand and more castes existed in ancient times. At the same time the modern caste system leads us back to the social organisation of ancient India. The starting point originated at a very remote period. The true facts have been obscured by theories of a theocratic society. It is generally believed, that for a proper understanding of the organisation of other groups, one must start from the Brahman group; and then from the religious ideas of other groups. But if one wishes to understand Brahminism, one must begin from the study of other groups which constituted the peculiar social and economic elements of ancient society.

The Indian social system, in fact, had its origin in the classes and corporations. It derived its peculiar features not from Brahminism, but from nobility, ownership of land, and corporations. It was not castes but classes and corporations which characterised the ancient Hindu society. The general conclusions, according to an eminent sociologist, may be stated in two sentences, (i) The organisation of ancient Indian society arose from the three natural groups of priesthood, nobility and bourgeoisie which are found in every civilized community. (ii) These groups were in turn, split up into a number of smaller groups and communities, some based on relationship and others on community of occupation. Some tried to solve that castes were based purely on racial distinctions. Though race had something to do with caste, yet it did not owe its origin to it. Caste sprang not from the four classes, but from the innumerable corporations and groups of relations into which the classes were divided. The caste of Brahmins is believed to be the starting point in the social development of India. Brahmanism shines like a sun in the middle of the caste system; innumerable social units revolving round it like planets.<sup>1</sup> In the following pages a brief summary of the origin and development of the Indian caste system is given.

### *Origin and Evolution of Caste.*

According to the Rig Veda, there are four castes, and these originated from Brahma, the Supreme Being. The Brahmins came from his mouth; Kshatriya from his arms; Vaisya, from his thighs; and the Sudras sprang from his feet.

There is here a subtle allegory, "that the Brahmins are the teachers and instructors; and the Kshatriyas are the warriors of mankind." But this is considered to be opposed to the simple and direct language of the Vedic hymns; and in the account of creation, the origin of many things besides classes of men, is attributed to parts of the divine person. The allegory points out, that the Brahmins are the instructors of mankind. The arms are the seat of strength. "If the two arms of the Purusha are said to have been made a Kshatriya (warrior), that means that the Kshatriyas have to carry arms to defend the empire. That the thighs of the

<sup>1</sup> Notes from Dahlmann's *Das Ahtindische Volkstum*.

Purusha were transformed into the Vaisya means, that the lower parts of the body are the principal repository of food taken, the Vaisya caste is destined to provide food for the others. The creation of Sudra from the feet of the Purusha indicated that he is to be the servant of others, just as the feet serve the other parts of the body as a firm support." It is said that the Sudras sprang from the Purusha's feet, but it is not clear whether the "three castes were the three members or the three members were the three castes. The mouth of the Purusha became the Brahman caste or was transferred into it; Mouth is the seat of speech." (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, pp. 14-15.)

In the Taittiriya Brahmanas (III. 12.9.2) it is said that the entire universe was created by Brahma. They say that the Yajur is the womb from which the Kshatriya was born. The Sama Veda is the source from which the Brahmins sprang. Again in the same work (I. 2.6.7) reference is made to the origin of the Brahmana caste from the Gods and the Sudras from the Asuras. Again in the Atharvana Veda it is said that the Brahmins were born with ten heads and ten faces; he made poison powerless." (Atharva Veda, II. 6.1.)

When we examine and compare the legends contained in the Brahmanas, we find that they are invented merely to show the origin and importance of some particular ceremony which the author wished to emphasise and recommend. Prajapathy's creative operations appear to be varying, and inconsistent. "The four castes mentioned in the Purusha Sūkta are not uniformly adopted as having sprung from Purusha's body, and are not uniformly adopted in other writings. "They are the sources of details in a modified form in the cosmogonies of the Puranas."

### *Manu's account of origin of Castes.*

With a view to people the worlds, he, the self-existent caused the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and the Sudra to issue from his mouth, his arms, his thighs and his feet. He divided his own body into two parts, and became with the half male (*Purusha*) and with the other half a female. In her, he created the *Firaj*. Then the ten Mahaparished, the seven Manus and the Gandharvas *rishis* were created. Manu says: the Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaisya castes are the twice-born ones, but the fourth Sudra has one birth only. There is no fifth caste. The duties enjoined on the four castes are thus stated by Vasishtha. The Brahmins must study, teach, offer sacrifices

give and accept gifts. The Kshatriya should study, offer sacrifices, give gifts ; the Vaisya should cultivate lands, conduct trade, tend cattle, and may adopt the profession of usury The Sudra should only serve the above-mentioned castes. (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, pp. 35-38.)

### *Development of Castes according to Puranas.*

In the laws of Manu and the Puranas different accounts are given, which do not correspond with the Vedic text. In the Vishnu Purana the legend of caste speaks of the four classes as being the first. It is after the human race has fallen into sin, that separate social duties are assigned to the classes. The same verse speaks of the evolution of qualities of Brahma ; *Sattva* or goodness sprang from the mouth of Brahma ; *Rajas* or passions came from his breasts ; *Tamas* or darkness from his thighs ; others he created from his feet.<sup>1</sup> For each one of these *gunas* or primitive differences of quality, a thousand couples, male and female, have been created, to which are assigned the distinct heavens or places of perfection of *Prajapati*, Indra, Marut and Gandharvas. Then the Gunas are related to the Yugas or ages ; first the Krita or glorious age of truth and piety in which apparently no distinction at least, no grades of excellence were known, and the Tréta or period of Knowledge ; and the third, the Dwapara or period of sacrifice ; fourth, the Kali or period of darkness.<sup>1</sup>

The Ramayana hymn suggests that in the four great periods, the castes successively arise according to the state of *Dharma* or righteousness. Thus a Sudra cannot even by a most rigorous self-mortification, become righteous in the period, proper to the salvation of the Vaisyas. As the hymn speaks in the Dwapara age, it speaks of the salvation of Sudrasas future, and not yet possible. " Wholly in opposition to the story of a fourfold birth, from Brahmana is the legend that the castes sprang from Manu himself who is removed by several generations of Gods and demi-gods from Brahma. Then again Sántiparyam alleges, that the world, at first, Brahman was separated into castes entirely by the evil works of man. Castehood consists in the exercise of certain virtues or vices." *Rishis*

<sup>1</sup> Muir's Sanskrit Texts, p. 60.

or persons born indiscriminately, frequently rise to the caste of Brahmans, and their offspring sink to a lower level. The serpent observes. "If a man is regarded by you as being a Brahman only in consequence of his conduct, then birth is vain till action is shown." But this change of caste takes place only through a second birth, and not during the life which is spent in virtue.<sup>1</sup>

In the Puranas the accounts of castes go side by side with those of creations. According to the Váyu and Markandya Puranas, it is said that "Brahma in meditating upon the offspring, created from his mouth a thousand couples of living beings endowed with an abundance of goodness (*Sattva*) and full of intelligence. Another thousand couples were again created. They were all full of passion and were vigorous and destitute of vigour. He again created another thousand pairs in whom both passion and darkness prevailed." Lastly he formed from his feet yet another thousand couples, and they were all full of darkness inglorious and of little vigour. They were first very happy; but gradually began to multiply and deteriorate by mixture of the various elements of qualities. Then various divisions arose, and duties were assigned to each according to the varieties, disposition and character of each. It is also held that the difference of caste is said to depend upon the disposition of the soul.<sup>2</sup>

In the Hari Vamsam again, it is said that the Brahmans were formed from an imperishable element (*Akshara*), the Kshatriyas from a perishable element (*Kshara*), the Vaisyas from alteration, and the Sudras from a modification of smoke. The general result of the foregoing texts is that they are so varying and conflicting in accounts of the origin of castes, that they are somewhat unintelligible. Caste is described as a late episode in creation, and as born

<sup>1</sup> Muir's Sanskrit Texts, pp. 131-135.

<sup>2</sup> Muir's Sanskrit Texts, pp. 74-106.

from different parts of Gods, from the mortal Manu from abstract principles and from nonentity. It is also described as coëval with creation, as existing in perfection during the *Krita* period, and subsequently falling into sin. It is also said that only Brahmans existed at first, others only at later periods. The rationalistic theory of *Sántiparvam* upset the very foundation of caste, *viz.*, the hereditary transmission of caste character.<sup>1</sup>

There is a passage in the *Vanaparvam* of the *Mahabharata* which runs thus:—"He in whom the qualities of truth, munificence, forgiveness, gentleness, abstinence from cruel deeds, contemplation, benevolence are observed, is called a Brahman in the *Smṛiti*. A man is not a Sudra by being a Sudra, nor a Brahman by being a Brahman." The *Mahabharata* (*Sántiparvam*) says:—"There are distinctions of caste. Thus, a world which, as created by Brahma, was at first entirely Brahmanic, has become divided into classes, in consequence of men's actions." The son of a Brahman sometimes became a Kshatriya sometimes a Vaisya, and sometimes a Sudra. At the same time, a Sudra as certainly, became a Brahman or a Kshatriya. On this point Shanker Digvijayam says:—"By birth all are Sudras by actions men become *Dvijas* (twice-born). By reading the Vedas, one becomes *Vipra*, and becomes Brahman by gaining a knowledge of God." Some are of opinion, that when the Vedas were composed, many who were not Brahmans, acted as priests and saints "preceptors of Gods" by their "austere fervour," rose from a lower rank to the dignity of Brahmanhood. Originally indeed, access to the Gods by prayer and sacrifice was open to all classes of the community.<sup>2</sup>

*Merits of the Caste System. Sukra Nitisara.*—Sukraniti is more explicit than the Code of Manu on the subject of caste. In ancient

<sup>1</sup> Muir's Sanskrit Texts, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Har Bilas Sarda, *Hindu Superiority*, pp. 28-29.

times, says Sukracharya, the castes were divided into four classes by Brahma according to their occupations (IV. 3. 21). "The man good by birth becomes low, by low associations, but a man who is low by birth cannot become high by high associations." (IV. 27-28). Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras and Mleschas are, he declares, separated not by birth but by virtues and by works. Neither through colour nor by ancestors can the spirit worthy of a Brahmana be generated." The Brahman is he, who practises the duties of Brahmanhood, the Kshatriya, he who is strong, valiant, and self-restrained in duty of protecting the state, the Vaisya he who lives by commerce, tends cattle, and cultivates lands; the Sudra, he who serves the twice-born, is bold, yet peaceful and self-controlled, drives the plough and carries fodder for cattle and wood; Mleschas are those who neglect their duties, are cruel and oppressive to others, excitable, envious and foolish. In making official appointments, character and merit were to be regarded—neither caste nor family (II. 111-112). Only in marriage and eating together the observation of caste rules was compulsory. The reward of labour was also to be regulated according to caste distinctions. "Wealth that is stolen by Brahman tends to well-being in the next life; the wealth that is given to the Sudra tends only to Hell," is one of the Sukracharya's pungent aphorisms (II. 811-812).<sup>1</sup>

No one was a Brahman by blood nor a Sudra by birth, but everyone was such as his merits fitted him to be. "The people," says Col. Olcott, "were not, as now, irrevocably walled in by castes, but they were free to rise to the highest social dignities or sink to the lowest positions, according to the inherent qualities they might possess."

The fourfold classification above described is a necessary and indispensable one in all countries in some form or other. It was much to the credit of Ancient India that this classification existed in its perfect form. It was based on the scientific principle of heredity, economy of labour, facility or development and specialisation of faculties. More or less similar organization existed in all civilized countries. In India, the division was perfect, and the working of the mechanism marvellous.

Even the system in its present form has not been an unmitigated evil. It has been the great conservative principle of the

<sup>1</sup> Havell.—The History of Aryan Rule in India, p. 228.

constitution of Hindu society, though originally it was conservative as well as a progressive one. It is this principle of the Hindu social constitution that has enabled the nation to sustain, without being shattered to pieces, that the tremendous shocks given by the numerous political convulsions and religious upheavals that have occurred during the last thousand years. "The system of caste," says Sir Henry Cottou, "far from being the source of all troubles which can be traced in Hindu society, has rendered most important service in the past, and still continues to sustain order and solidarity."

### *Supremacy of the Brahmins.*

They were the single domestic priests of kings, and gradually they grew in political importance and made religion an exclusive and sacred business. They decided questions of succession of the rulers, and their decisions are in the ancient sacred literature.

The position which the three superior classes occupy in the development of Brahmanical system was one of gradation, as they differed only in the extent of their religion and civil prerogatives, the Kshatriyas being in some respects less favoured than the Brahmins, the Vaisyas more favoured than the Sudras. In the case of Sudras on the other hand, the case was quite different; they were not admitted to sacrifice, to the study of the Vedas, or to the investiture of the sacred thread. From this it is concluded that the three highest castes stood in closer connection with each other, whether of descent or of culture than any of them did to the fourth. The Indian body politic was without the Sudras who formed a fourth caste, and as a race of people were subdued by the Brahmanical conquerors. Whether they were a branch of Aryan stock which emigrated at an earlier period into India, or the Autochthonous Indian tribe, it is not now possible to say.

### *Origin of the Indo-Aryan System at its Best.*

The idea of purity probably gave rise to the social distinctions among the Aryans themselves and between Aryans and Non-Aryans; and this was probably highly valued. By the gradual development of the Vedic theory of sacrifice, it came to be interpreted more in a spiritual



than in a physical sense. It further denoted the barrier which separated those who could participate in the benefits of the Vedic ritual either directly or by proxy from the 'impure' whose mere presence would entirely vitiate the efficacy of the sacrifices. But the rigidity and exclusiveness of the caste system was largely the product of mediæval conditions, and did not exist either in the time of Buddha or many centuries afterwards.

"Caste laws, says Havell, were laws of spiritual eugenics designed to promote the evolutions of a higher race. It was also by process of natural selection or survival of the fittest, that the Brahmans originally only attendants at the tribal sacrifices, who chanted the accompanying hymns and had charged the sacred vessels, gradually obtained precedence over the Kshatriyas who in Vedic times combined priestly functions with their military profession, and were the representatives of the priestly Aryan stock. For in the state constant warfare which existed so long as the Aryan and the Non-Aryan allies were fighting for supremacy in India, social and racial prejudices would often be subordinated to considerations of national security, and the blood of the Kshatriya aristocracy would tend to become mixed by the admission into their ranks of Non-Aryan and men of mixed races who distinguished themselves as leaders in war, but were not competent to officiate in sacrificial rites." (Havell. History of the Aryan Rule in India, p. 17.)

*Theories started to account for the appearance of Brahman Caste.*

James Mill, the great historian and philosopher, who underestimated the influence on history of previous state of society, has suggested that the original divisions have been the work of some inspired individual, a legislator, or social reformer, who perceived the advantages which would result from a systematic division of labour. "The subordination of castes is due to a superstitious terror and the designing loss of power, which have often been invoked to explain the natural supremacy of the religious class; because the ravages of war were dreaded mostly after the calamities sent by Heaven. He finds that military caste properly occupied the second place. Heron and Claproth contended that the divisions into classes, or castes is founded on an original diversity of race, and the higher castes are possessed of superior beauty." (Encyclopædia Britannica—'Caste.')

The clear complexion and regular features of the Brahmins are said to distinguish them completely from the Sudras. "The high forehead, the stout build, and the light copper colour of the Brahmins and other castes allied to them appear in strong contrast with the somewhat low and wide heads, slight mark and dark bronze of the low castes. There is doubt that the three higher castes of light colour (*tri varnika*) the white Brahmins, the red Kshatriyas, yellow Vaisyas, are in the early hymns, and Brahmanas, spoken of as Aryans, the Sanskrit-speaking conquerors are distinguished from the dark colour of the Turanian aborigines, Dasyus. In fact Arya which means noble is derived from Arya which means house-holder, and was the original home of the largest caste now called Vaisyas. The Sudras are regarded as a conquered race, probably a branch of the Aryan stock, perhaps an autochthonous Indian tribe. This hypothesis is opposed to the fact, that where the Sudra is debarred from sharing the three important Vedic sacrifices, the Bhagavata Purana permits him to sacrifice "without *mantras*" and imposes on him duties with reference to Brahmins and cows which one could not expect in the case of a nation strange in blood. The position of the Sudra certainly suggests conquest.<sup>1</sup>

In trying to reduce the caste system into a code of rigid rules, the *Sutradharas* (authors of *Grihya Sutras*) of the period met with an initial difficulty. They believed that there were originally but four castes among men; but they actually found around them various other castes formed by tribes and non-Aryans who gradually entered into the Hindu fold and formed low Hindu castes. The *Sutradharas* tried to evolve the new castes from the four parent castes by inter-marriages; but even in this period there is no trace of the profession of castes.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout this and the subsequent periods up to the Muhammadan conquests the great body of the people were Vaisyas; although they were entitled to all the rights and privileges, and the literature and heritage of the nation fully, yet the Sudras were debarred from this. The *Kila* enumerates a number of professions, some of these were pursued by Sudras; but most of them by the Vaisyas. But there is no indication that these professions divided the Vaisya caste into so many sub-castes. A similar list is given by the caste that reserved some privileges for the priest and warriors; but they never divided and disunited the Aryan people, until after the Muhammadan conquest.

<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> Notes from Dahlmann's "Das Altindische Volkstum."

It is not till the Brahmanic period of Indian History which ends with the coming of Sakya Muni in 600 B.C., that we find caste definitions of Manu realised as facts. The duties assigned to the four castes were in full force, and punishments in the case of offences were graded in accordance with the social status of the castes. For the same offence, the punishment of a Brahman was light, while for a Sudra it was heavy.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to its importance from a European point of view, Mr. Sidney Low in his recent book, 'A Visitor of India' says:— "There is no doubt that it is the main cause of the fundamental stability and contentment by which Indian society has been traced for centuries against the shock of politics and the cataclysms of Nature. It provided every man with his place, his career, his occupation, his circle of friends. It makes him, at the outset, a member of a corporate body; it protects him through life from the canker of social jealousy and unfulfilled aspirations; it ensures him companionship and a sense of community with others in a like case with himself. The caste organisation is to the Hindu, his club, his trade union, his benefit society, his philanthropic society. There are no work-houses in India, and none are as yet needed. The obligations to provide for kinsfolk and friends in distress is universally acknowledged; nor can it be questioned that this is due to the recognition of the strength of family ties and of the bonds created by associations and common pursuits which is fostered by the caste principle. An India without caste, as things stand at present, it is quite easy to imagine."

The subject of caste, on a sociological point of view, has been very carefully studied by the eminent European sociologists; and Sir Herbert Risley, and Sir E. A. Gait in their census reports of 1901 and 1911, have very exhaustively treated it. A short summary of it may not be without interest in this connection.

### *Definition of Caste.*

The word "caste" is of Portuguese origin, and is derived from caste which means 'breed' 'race' or 'class.' The word corresponds with *Jāt* or *Jāti* which signifies 'birth' or 'descent.' It is always difficult to say whether a given term denotes a caste, *i.e.*, a separate social group or a

<sup>1</sup> Notes from Dahlmann's "Das Altindische Volkstum."

group of people following a traditional occupation. The term Bania, for instance in Bengal is loosely applied to a number of trading castes, namely, Khatri, Mahesri, Rauniyar, Subarnabanik, Gandhabanik, Bais and Kalwar." So also are the terms Vellalar and Nayar, indiscriminately applied to a number of sub-castes in the Tamil districts, Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.

It is difficult, says Sir E. A. Gait, to indicate any definite test by which a caste can be distinguished from other groups. It cannot be endogamy for that would elevate all sub-castes to the rank of castes, as it would create multiplicity of castes. It would also ignore the fact that, while the limits of a caste are tolerably certain and fixed, those of a sub-caste are not; and that circumstances may, at any time, lead to the formation of new sub-castes or to the disappearance of some of those which now exist.

"The main characteristics of a caste are the belief in a common origin held by all the members and the possession of the traditional occupation. It may be defined as an endogamous group or collection of such groups bearing a common name having the same traditional occupation claiming descent from the same source, and commonly regarded as forming a single homogeneous community" (Sir E. A. Gait).

Sir Herbert Risley defines caste "as a collection of families bearing a common name claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor human or divine; professing to follow the same hereditary calling and are regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community." The name is always associated with a specific occupation. M. Emile Senart on the other hand defines caste as "a close corporation in theory at any rate rigorously hereditary; equipped with certain traditional and independent

organisation including a chief, and council; meeting on occasion in assemblies of more less plenary authority, and joining in the celebration of certain festivals; bound together by a common occupation observing certain usages which relate more particularly to marriage, to food, and to questions of ceremonial pollution, and ruling its members by the exercise of a jurisdiction the extent of which varies, but which succeeds by the sanction of certain penalties and above all by the power of final or revocable exclusion from the group in making the authority of the community effectively felt.”<sup>1</sup>

M. Senart has rendered signal service by his study of the subject of relation which the ancient organisation of society bears to that of the present day, and owing to his masterly handling, the enquiry regarding the origin of caste has entered on a new stage. To understand the social organisation described in the ancient works, we must adopt the modern social system as our starting point. There is no doubt that the present social organisation is to some extent based on that of Ancient India. Senart's error rests on the assumption that the exact condition of to-day existed in the remotest past. He regards the social groups of the Rig Veda as genuine classes, not castes, and holds later on, that the endless complexity of the modern system had already come into existence, and that the theory of the four classes remained and caused the writers to pervert facts. Senart regards the groups of Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas as natural classes, so that the conception of caste could not have proceeded from them. According to him clan and clan organisation originated, from the family. He identifies clan and caste, and commits the fundamental error of attempting to explain the ancient organisation on the basis of modern developments. He compares the Indian *clan* with the Roman *gens*, and the corresponding groups among the Greeks, Celts, and the Saxons, and the Slavs. There was, he says, the fullest unity between the members of the clan; the land was owned by them in common, and the cultivated area was divided among different families. It is true that the members of a clan resided together as a village community. The Roman *gens* is no caste, nor is the German *Zippe*, nor the *Zadruga* of Southern Slavs. These

<sup>1</sup> Risley : The People of India, p. 68.

factors characterise the clan or *gotra*, and not the caste. Family and race (*Kul* or *Gotra*) remain to be explained. While the members of a *gotra* are exogamous, those of caste are endogamous. Every caste contains numerous *gotras*. The real sociological interest of the old Indian family is that even in the earliest times, it had already attained considerable importance.<sup>1</sup>

Some castes have a common patron deity (*Viswakarma*), but there is no caste whose members have a common ancestor. The members of the *gotra* are exogamous, while those of the caste are endogamous. Every caste has numerous *gotras* which always indicate a group of relations.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Senart, entirely overlooked the sharp distinction of the family, the clan and the race. He seeks for primitive forms, and then plunges into speculation instead of relying on actual facts. The real sociological point in the interest of the Indian family is, that it has reached considerable development even in the earliest times, but Senart opines that the most characteristic peculiarities are identical with the original conception of family. Caste, he says, preserved to a certain extent, the family organisation in the joint family system, and on the other, in the village community. Corporations sprang into existence consisting of people engaged in the same trade or same occupation. Such corporations were already in existence at the time of the Vedic period. There is a close resemblance between these industrial organisations and the modern caste system, and it is to be considered whether the distinctions implied by caste, do not rest on the same basis as those of the above organisations. It is to the question of relationship between the industrial corporation and caste, that Nesfield devoted himself in his *Brief View of the Caste System*. According to him difference of occupation alone is the basis upon which the whole caste system of India has been built. Caste is a natural social product with which religion has never anything to do; difference of caste is due to the difference of occupation. It is difficult to understand how Senart in the face of all these facts could say that all these occupations are open not only to Brahmins but to persons of any caste. Most castes bear the names clearly indicating the occupation. At the same time the difference of occupation could not weld the persons following it into close relations connoted by the word caste, the test of which is the *jus connubii*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1,2</sup> Notes from Dahlmann's "Das Altindische Volkstum."

The question is whether the old corporations were bound together by such close ties. This point is not well considered by Nesfield but it is the corner stone of the whole controversy over the contrast between the past and present. It was Oldenberg who first raised the question whether the ancient labour corporation formed regular castes or not. According to him they were associations in which the tendency to develop into castes in the modern sense of the word was already apparent, although originally they were not certainly castes. If so what was the influence which led them to develop into castes. Oldenberg's answer is that owing to the old fourfold divisions of classes, the people were accustomed to the idea of caste based on birth, and that the guilds gradually followed this example, and eventually became true castes. He thus, like Senart, mixes up two different things. Both agree in regarding the old classes as castes, while one concludes, that the ancient system of four classes has been applied, through lying and deceit, to the modern system of numerous castes; the other is of opinion that its restrictions have been carried over to the numerous corporations. According to Senart, it is the clan that developed into castes which is concealed beneath the four theoretical castes of the law books. According to Oldenberg it is that classes developed into castes, which are intimated by the corporations and guilds. According to the former, the four classes had originally nothing to do with the numerous castes according to the latter, the system of four castes had originally nothing to do with the numerous corporations. The main problem for both of them is how the numerous modern castes can be brought into one with the old fourfold division. If however the modern castes have nothing to do with the old four-fold division of castes and classes, it is no longer necessary to attempt a solution of this problem. The four-fold division of the Veda may have continued till long afterwards without standing in any relation to the modern caste system. Within the ancient classes numerous functional corporations were formed; and from these the modern castes gradually developed. By this solution we no longer need to mix up different elements. The old divisions remained what they were, *i.e.*, the classes based on the difference between the priesthood, the nobility and industry; while the modern castes are derived solely and exclusively from the corporations which were formed within the limits of the above classes. There was a steady progress of development leading classes to corporations and from corporations to castes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Notes from Dahlmann's "Das Altindische Volkstum."



*Types of castes.* The members of a caste are bound together by the possession of a common traditional occupation and belief in a common origin. The rules regarding the prohibition of marriage outside the limits of the caste are so strict that it points a common origin and unity. But at the same time there can scarcely be any doubt that most of the castes have been recruited from different sources. The highest of all castes contains many heterogeneous elements. The Brahmans of upper India usually have fine features, and belong to the race of immigrants from north-west who are commonly known as Aryans or Indo-Aryans. The broad depressed noses of those of Southern India show, that they are Dravidians like their neighbours, while the physiognomy of the Brahmans of East Bengal betrays an admixture of Mongolian blood. The Sakadvipi Brahmans have been identified with the priesthood of the early Persian invaders of India; and the Ojha Brahmans with the Baigas or sooth-sayers of the Dravidian-aborigines. The Brahmans of Manipur are the descendants of members of the priestly caste by women of the country. The Brahmans or degraded Brahmans who minister to the lower castes and often intermarry with them are probably the descendants of individuals belonging to those lower castes, who by virtue of their profession, assumed their usual levitical title. The origin of Rajputs is still more heterogeneous and even at the present day numerous cases of accretions are still in progress.

### *Caste Formations:*

1. *Race Castes.*—There are at present, numerous castes that do not owe their origin to any functions; but they are identified with some particular trades or occupations. They had their origin in tribes and managed to enter the fold of Hinduism. They were afterwards hardened into castes, the types of which are found all over India. In Bengal Rajabansi, Kaibertta, Pod, Chandal and Bagdi. In Madras the Vellalas, the Nayar, are instances.

2. *Sectarian Castes.*—The Lingayats or Vrishaiv caste of Bombay and Southern India, numbering more than three millions was founded by a reformer who denied the supremacy of the Brahmans. It was originally a sect that rejected the Hindu social system, and their



adherents now are regarded as a caste. The Baishtams of Bengal form a similar instance in kind.

*Castes formed by Crossing.*—The Khas of Nepal, the Shagirdpeshas of Orissa, the Rajabansi Barnas of Chittagong are all instances of this type.

*Functional Castes.*—The characteristics of this type are so prominent that the community of function is generally regarded as the chief factor in the evolution of caste. Almost every caste professes to have a traditional occupation though many of its members have abandoned it. The adoption of new occupations or of changes in the original occupation may give rise to sub-divisions of the caste, which finally develop into castes quite distinct. Barbers in some parts of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore call themselves Pandithans or Vaidyans owing to their practice of surgery to a small extent in villages. Some of the members of the toddy-drawing castes (Izhuvans or Thiyyans) have adopted the profession of weaving, and have formed a new sub-caste after separation from the main caste. They are on the road to become a new caste. Most of the castes are functional, but the functions vary in different provinces.

*Migration* is an important factor in the formation of new castes. Members leave their homes and settle among strangers. They assume to have formed new habits, eaten strange food, worshipped alien gods, and have a difficulty in finding wives in the parent caste. After a time they marry only among themselves and become a sub-caste, and are often known by some territorial name. Such in appearance are the remarkable Nambuthiri Brahmans of Malabar. They claim to have come from North India and the Deccan. They are said to be the true Aryans in South India, and their complexion and features lend some support to the tradition which assigns to them a foreign origin. They differ from other

Brahmans by their tendency to polygamy by their rejection of infant marriage, and by their restriction of marriage to the eldest son, the others entering into relations with Nayar women. Among the Sudras may be mentioned Chállians (weavers), Kaduppattans and Tharakans. Some castes, dissatisfied with their social position aspire to one higher than that which Hindu Society is inclined to accord to him. The Kámmalans looking at their brethren in the Tamil districts, change their tuft of hair from the front to the back, wear sacred thread of the Brahmans, and call themselves Viswa Brahmans. The Kommatties, Muttans and some Vellalans state that they are Vaisyas, and these movements are contrary to the teaching of Manu, who classes those falsely asserting themselves to be of too high a caste in the same category with breach of trust. A caste does not enhance its real position by wearing threads, by marrying its children as infants, and giving itself a high-sounding name. It can obtain a far more honourable distinction by educating its members and elevating their lives.

*Castes and Sub-castes.*—It is sometimes said that what is commonly known as the sub-caste ought really to be considered as the caste, and that the caste is merely a term including a number of true castes following the same profession. The restriction of marriage between two such groups is sometimes forbidden. In some castes the restriction applies to the giving, and not to the taking of wives. Changes in the sub-castes are constantly going on, and while new groups are being formed, old groups are being absorbed. *Sámanathan* is a generic name of a group of castes forming the aristocracy of Malabar formerly ruling over varying extents of territories. With regard to the origin of the caste, it is said that they are the descendants of the Kshatryias, who divesting

themselves of the holy thread fled from the wrath of Parasurama, and lived in the jungles without the performance of *Sandhya Vandanam* and other prayers whence they were known as *Sámanathans* or those without *mantrams*.

*Caste in Cochin, Malabar and Travancore.*—The castes in Kerala present peculiar features. Tradition ascribes the creation of the caste system to Parasurama, the reputed leader of the first Brahman colony. The scheme attributed to him recognizes 64 divisions formed out of the two main castes of Brahmans and Sudras. The term *Súdra*, as at present understood, is used in its very elastic signification, and includes under it all castes of the Non-Aryan groups. The system and classification of caste of which he is supposed to be the author, cannot wholly be considered to be his own creation. As the recognized founder of the Malayaly communities, he may be considered as the originator of the nucleus which has gradually developed into the system, now associated with his personality. As in other parts of India, the social development, described in the scheme appears to be a gradual process of evolution and growth under given conditions, and did not arise out of the deliberate action or orders of any particular individual. Turning to the early Tamil literature and inscriptions the following occupational castes are found in Malabar as well as in the Tamil Districts, namely Ambattan, Izhauvan, Kamíalan or the five artisans, Kaniyan, Máran, Pánan, Panikkan, Valluvan, Variayan, and Vélan. They appear to be the indigenous castes of Malabar, and their occupations have changed. The scheme nevertheless contains irreconcilable inconsistencies as it imports castes of later growth into an early period. The scheme under reference is given at the end of this lecture without entering into a discussion of the subject, (Vide Appendix).

To preserve the purity of their community, and to secure their own comfort and convenience, the Brahman legislators appear to have so enacted the matrimonial laws, that they possess the privilege of marrying not only amongst themselves, but also among castes below them down to the Nayars. They extended the privilege to the Kshatriyas, who subsequently came in their midst, while the Sudras were allowed to marry only amongst themselves. Thus by the practice of hypergamy, the Brahmans effectually prevented the degeneration of their castes. There are also castes which arose out of *anulomum* and *prathilomum*. With the advent of the Perumals the Kshatriyas appeared in Kerala, and the Brahmans began to enter into conjugal relations with Sudra (Nayar) women; and the union of the Kshatriyas with Sudra woman gave rise to the caste of *Sámanthans*, who by caste are Nayars differentiated by social position, and strict observance of hypergamy the with Nambuthiris. The addition of these two groups completes the scheme of the Malayaly castes of the present day; and this took definite shape probably under the guidance of the renowned Sankaracharya. The castes of Kerala have thus a racial, marital, and functional basis. The observance of the peculiar customs, secured the primary object, and isolated the Malayalies from other peoples, and obstructed for a long time their progress in other directions.

*Castes by Social Precedence.*—Nowhere in India as in Malabar, are the indigenous castes graded according to social precedence, based upon considerations, such as inter-marriage, inter-dining, the employment of Brahmans as *purohits* or priests, infant marriage, marriage of widows, the privilege of the services of the village barber,—washerman, midwife, of entrance into the courtyard of temples, and restrictions in respect of residence in the village or in a separate quarter

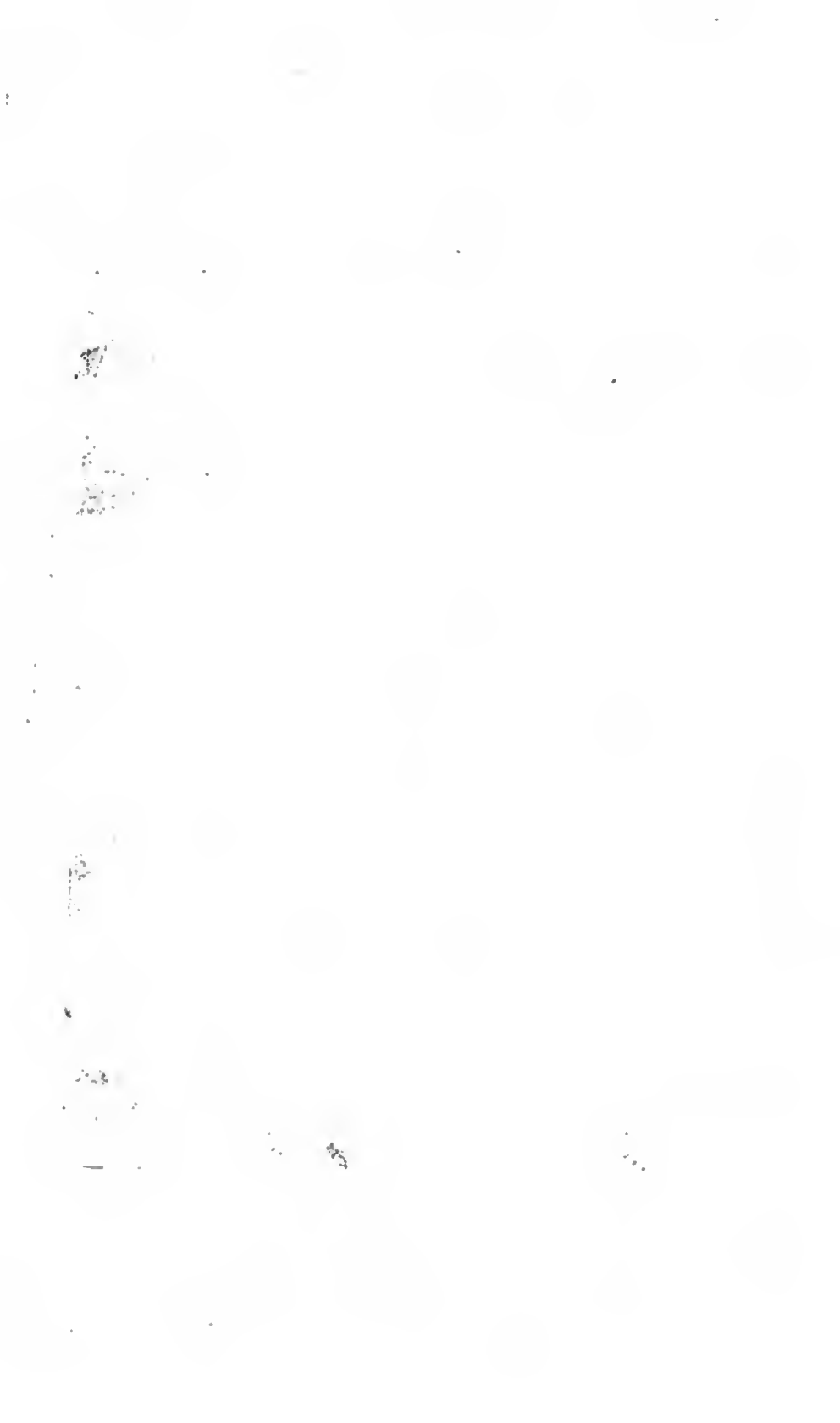
leaving the road on the approach of the high caste or calling out to give warning of their approach. Besides the Hindu castes, peculiar to Malabar, there are also other permanent, or temporary emigrants from other parts of India. Between the purely Malayaly castes on the one hand, and the *Paradesi* or foreign castes on the other, with more or less the same social status, there is nothing in common, and many of the tests cannot be applied with a view to intermingle and arrange them in one scheme. The Nambuthiri males inter-dine with some classes of the *Paradesi* Brahmans or eat the food cooked by low-class Nambuthiris or even by the Thirumulpads, but the females cannot. Similarly, Nayar males can partake of the meals prepared by any Nayar without any distinction of caste, but a female belonging to the higher sub-caste, cannot partake of the meals prepared by one belonging to a lower. All Nayar females can eat together in the same rooms, but those of the higher sub-castes may not sit in the same room for the purpose with those of a lower one. Similar rules are observed also among the lower castes. Intermarriage also is generally governed by the same rules as those of interdining. A Nambuthiri female can be married only in her own class. But a Nambuthiri male can form *sambandham* (union) in any caste below his, but not below that of Nayars. Generally women belonging to the Nayar and intermediate castes can marry only where they eat, *i. e.*, with equals and superiors. But these rules are not strictly observed in these days as formerly, especially by the Nayars. Pollution is another element for caste differentiation, and there are some features of it which are peculiar to this part of India. A Nambuthiri is polluted by the touch of any one below him in social status. In respect of pollution by touch and approach, there is a regular gradation.

*Antharalars* contain 15 castes of temple servants in the same tract of country. All these are simply functional designations. They come under two distinct communities in which the wearing of *Punúl* or the sacred thread marks the difference between them. The members of the thread-wearing sub-divisions were originally Brahmans, but were degraded perhaps for some fault of their ancestors. It is equally possible that their degradation may have been due to the special avocations pursued by them. The Brahmanic customs and manners which they profess to observe, are less rigid than in the case of the Brahmans, yet they cannot deviate from them. The ceremonial forms of the Brahman marriage are in vogue among them, but the bridegroom or the *tali-tier* is seldom the husband of the girl; and hence the *Sambandham* form marital relations, preferably with Brahmans, and less so with the Kshatriyas, is also allowed. This alternative form of conjugal relationship is to some extent owing to the difficulty of securing suitable husbands within their own sub-castes, for the men with their small openings prefer *Sambandham* union so as to be free from the responsibility of supporting the children; and this dual form of marital relationship has given rise to a dual form of inheritance. The members of the other sub-divisions, who do not wear the *punúl* (the holy thread), were probably recruited from the Sudras for temple service and are below in status to those mentioned above. Of late years, they have been observing the customs and manners of those above them, and showing considerable signs of elevation in all respects. The social status of each of the sub-divisions in the two communities cannot be accurately defined. In the course of my investigations, I found that the members of each sub-division asserted their superiority to those of the others. Each sub-division is, in fact, an endogamous sect. The *Antharalars* form, a hybrid caste, and ethnologically

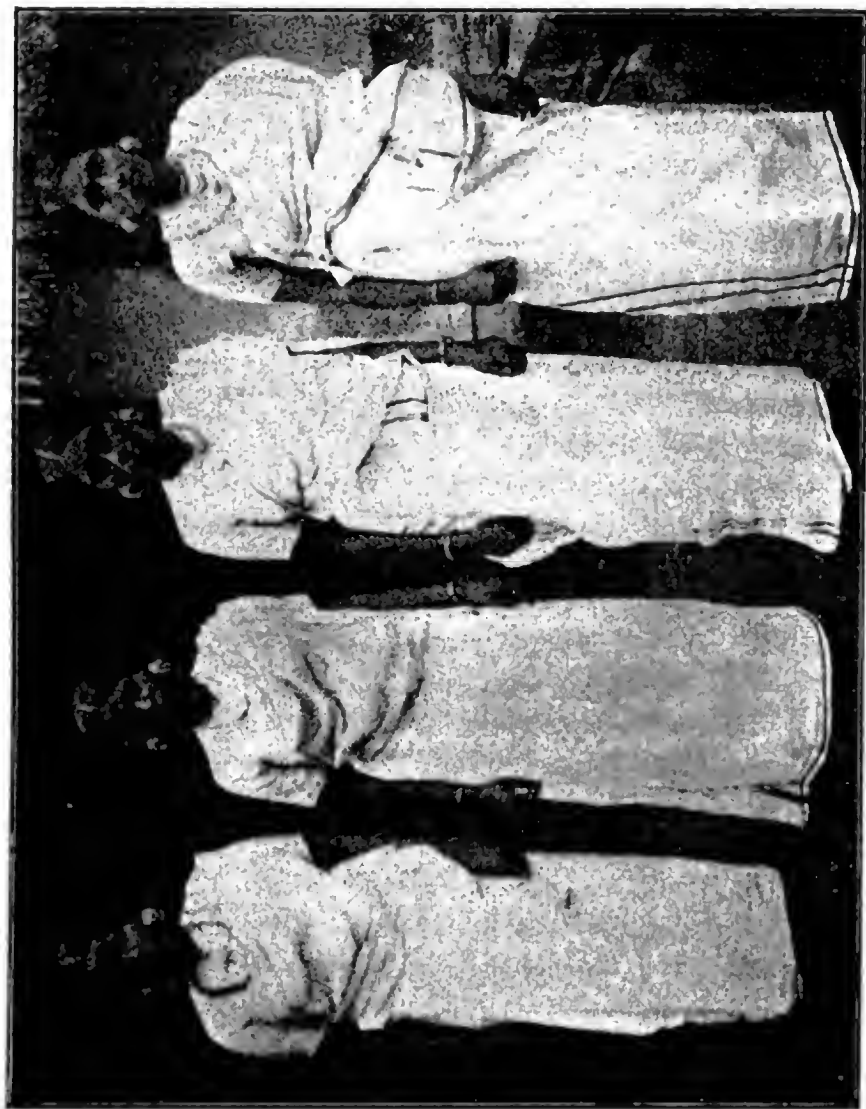
the thread-wearing members of the first community are more Aryan than the members of the second. There are also others of the same kind, such as Vellalans. The name is applied to a number of communities, which have little or no connection with each other, except that they are all cultivators. Education is now becoming an important factor, and there are signs for the desire to the gradual disregard of sub-caste distinctions. Hindu social reformers all over the country are urging people to break down the minor endogamous restrictions to all for marriage freely to take place within the limits of the caste.

*Caste among Christians and Mahomedans.*—Caste as a socio-religious institution is not observed by the Christians and Mahomedans of Cochin. But the caste prejudice which influences their Hindu brethren in their social and domestic relations exist to some extent among some sections of both Christians and Mahomedans. The Syrian Christians of the present day who claim their descent from high-caste Hindus converted by St. Thomas, will not even now intermarry either with the recent converts are from the lower castes. Some of them even refuse to interdine with them. Similarly a Mahomedan Mappilla who claims descent from a high-caste Hindu, will not allow the descendant of a low-caste convert to marry his daughter. The Catholics of the Chittur Taluk who are recent converts of Tamil Sudras, have returned themselves as Vellalans and Kommatties under caste and Christians under religion.

*Stability of Castes and Tribal Groups in Cochin.*—Generally speaking, caste appears to be fixed and immutable, but this is by no means the case. The process of change is very slow and imperceptible. From the Dynamical point of view, the most important features of castes are opposing forces of repulsion and attraction.







A Group of Thirumalpad Women, Cochin State

When one section of a caste develops peculiarities of any kind, a different occupation, habitat or social practice of a different religious cult, the tendency for it is to regard itself and be regarded by the rest of the caste as something different. The feelings grow stronger with time, and at last the main body of the caste withdraws from the marriage league. The result is a new sub-caste and often in the end, a new caste. When, on the other hand, a section of one caste adopts the occupation of another, there is a tendency for it to become absorbed in the latter. Outsiders will look on it as a section of the caste which follows the occupation in question. It will very gradually begin to adopt the same ceremonial observances, to be served by the same family priests, and to worship the same tutelary deity. Later on, the fact that it has all these things in common with the caste in question will create belief, that it sprang from the same source, and it will end by being regarded as a genuine sub-caste. In Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, the Nayers whose customs have aroused special interest are neither a caste nor even a tribe; they are rather a community including various elements, an aristocratic group of Sudras and number of sub-castes with various occupations. Some of the Tamil castes have become Nayers. The Tharakans, Chaliens, Velakkathalavans, Katuppattans, are classed as low-caste Nayers. The Kshatriyas are high bred arising from the union of Brahmans with Kshatriya women. Women of the Thirumulpad section, in Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore marry, by preference, the Nambudiri Brahmans, but may also take husbands from their own castes, while the Kshatriya Princes of Cochin and Travancore select their consorts from Nayar women, and the marriage rite is the same, whether the husband be a Brahman or a Nayar. Even in tribal groups it can be proved that there is no stability as in the same caste. To

this may be added, cases not sporadic, but probably under old conditions, the *just primæ noctis* was enforced. The remarkable type of *tali* marriage has been explained as the relic of the days when Nambuthiris were entitled to the first fruits, and it was considered the high privilege of every Nayar maid to be introduced by them to womanhood. Among some of the hill tribes, and many menial castes in the plains, pre-nuptial infidelity is recognized and tolerated. This refers only to the members of the group, and an intrigue with an alien is sharply punished. Woman once married are generally said to be chaste. The relaxation of moral control in everyday life must invariably result in miscegenation. It is not generally recognized that the formation of endogamous groups is comparatively modern, and even in the time of Manu the prohibition against marriage outside the group was in certain cases relaxed. The early colour (*varna*) was only an imperfect for shadowing of the present system. Changes of groups were common and the law of *conubium* among the Dravidians seems to have been based not on the groups of agnates but on the village. At the present day, the prevailing morality promotes miscegenation. In South India popular tradition describes the wholesale conversion of members of lower castes into Brahmans. This occurs when a Rajah, in order to expiate his sin or to gain religious merit undertakes to feed a large number of Brahmans. If his guests fall short of the number required, he has to promote from the lower castes as many, as he needed. There are instances of Nambuthiris having elevated certain low castes to suit their purposes.

*Effects of the caste system on the people.*—A man's caste affects his life from its beginning to end. It determines his occupations, fixes his residence for him, assigns villages for caste quarters. His social position and

with it his friends and the limits within which he may marry are equally divided by his caste, and so are his food, his drink, his name and sometimes even the clothes which he and his women-kind may wear. The facts that the present government makes no distinction of caste or creed, and that the Brahmans and the members of the higher castes travel in the same railway carriage with the members of the low castes are instances by which the old order of things changes. It is true, that, although the various castes cling less tenaciously than they do, their traditional occupations and the boundaries between the large Sudra castes are less clearly marked than they were, still the tendency to confine the inter-marriage to narrow circles within the caste and sub-caste is still strong. For all practical purposes, it is these small endogamous sub-divisions that are the real castes.

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## APPENDIX A.

The classification<sup>1</sup> given below roughly indicates a scheme based upon the diversity of race, and the Brahmans constitute *Arya Varna*, the Aryan or noble race, characterised by their broad forehead, regular features and fair colour.

Group No.	Name of castes.	Race.	No. of divisions.
I.	Nambuthiris and allied castes ... ..	Aryan	10
II.	Antarala-játis or intermediate castes.		
	A. Nampidi (threaded)	Do.	1
	B. Ambalavasi (do.)	Do.	7
	C. Do. (unthreaded)	Mixed Aryan and Dravidian.	4
III.	Nayar, A. High caste ...	Mostly Dravidian.	14
	B. Low caste ...	Do.	4
IV.	Kammálans ...	Dravidian.	6
V.	Other polluting castes below them ...	Do.	10
VI.	Chandálans ...	Probably aborigines.	
	A. of the plains ...	"	4
	B. of the forests ...	"	4
TOTAL			64

<sup>1</sup> Jātinirṇayam, (a Malayalam Work on Caste).

## APPENDIX B.

Name of Caste.	Remarks.
I. Brahman and the allied castes :—	
1. Nambuthiri	... 1. There are eight divisions: 4 Vedic and 4 non-Vedic.
2. Múthathu	... 2. Brahmans degraded on account of partaking the offerings made to Siva.
3. Elayad ...	... 3. They are Brahmans degraded for having officiated as the priests of Sudras.
II. Malayali Kshatriyas.	
1. Thampuran (member of the ruling family).	1. The three names denote titles. They follow certain Brahmanical customs. Brahmans inter-dine with them. Brahmans are their priests.
2. Tampáns (distant relatives of the ruling family and a few others).	2 and 3. Do.
3. Thirumulpad.	
III. Vysias and allied castes.	Vysias are non-existent.

Name of Caste.	Remarks.
IV. Antharāla jātis or castes below the Brahmans and Kshatriyas and above Sudras.	
A. Nambidi.	A. Brahmans and Kshatriyas will not take water from them. Brahmans officiate as priests. They wear the sacred thread.
B. Ambalavāsi.	
1. Atikal.	B. 1. Degraded on account of priestly functions in Bhagavati temples.
2. Chākkiyar.	
3. Chākkiyar Nambiar.	2. Originally belonged to the Sūtha caste.
4. Nambiaror Unni.	3. Originated as No. 2.
5. Thiyattu Unni or Nambi.	5. Degraded by profession.
6. Pishāródi.	
7. Variar.	6 to 9. Do not wear the sacred thread. Purifactory ceremonies alone are performed by the Brahmans. Other priestly functions are performed by their own castemen.
8. Puthuval.	
9. Mārār.	
C. Sāmantha.	
1. Unithiri.	C. 1 & 2. Children by Nayar women and Kshatriya husbands.
2. Atiyodi.	

Name of Caste.	Remarks.
V. Sudras.	V. A. Their touch pollutes all castes above them. The use of meat or liquor does not entail loss of caste, but many abstain from them. Elayathus are their priests.
A. High caste Nayers.	
B. Low caste Nayers.	B. Their touch pollutes all castes above them. They pollute by touch, the high-caste Brahman who uses clothes washed by No. 2.
1. Cháliyan.	
2. Veluthéden.	
3. Velakkathalavan.	
VI. Castes which pollute by approach within graded distances and do not eat beef.	VI Nos. 1 to 5 interdine and intermarry. No. 6. pollutes 1 to 5. The approach of Kammalans within a distance of 24 feet pollutes castes above them.
1. Kallásari (Mason).	
2. Kollan (Blacksmith).	
3. Marāsāri (Carpenter).	
4. Musāri (Bell-metal worker).	
5. Thattān (Goldsmith).	
6. Thólkollan (Leather worker).	



Name of Caste.	Remarks.
VII. Other castes having pollution by distance, but do not eat beef.	VII. Their approach within 36 feet pollutes groups of castes 1 to 5. Some of the castes in the groups are polluted by touch. Polyandry exists in some castes.—Kaniyán, Pánan and Vilkurup.
1. Izhuvan or Tiy- yan (Toddy draw- er).	
2. Válan (Fisher- man or boat- man).	
3. Arayan (do.)	
4. Mukkuvan (do.)	
5. Marakkán (do.)	
6. Kaniyán (astro- loger).	
7. Vilkurup (mak- ers of bows and arrows).	
8. Pánan (necro- mancer).	
9. Vélán (washer- man and low castes).	
10. Pulluvan (Sin- ger in serpent grooves).	
11. Paravan.	
VIII. 1. Kanakkan. } 2. Kóotan. }	VIII. They are to keep them- selves at a distance of 48 ft. from the high-caste Hindus. They pollute castes in groups VI and VII They are Agricultural labourers.

Name of Caste.	Remarks.
IX. 1. Pulayan or Cheruman. 2. Parayan. 3. Vettuvan.	IX. In their case the distance causing pollution is 64 ft. They are Chandálans of the plains.
X. 1. Ullátan. 2. Náyáti. 3. Malayan. 4. Kádan.	X. They are Chandálans of the forests. They pollute the high-caste Hindus at a distance of 96 ft.

Conclusion : Caste, as a religious and social organization, exercised a very powerful influence upon the people of India. It was much to the credit of Ancient India, that it existed in its perfect form. The earliest references are found in the Vedas ; and in the Puranas, varying accounts are given. The fourfold division of caste, had special duties assigned to each, the performance of which alone, justified the name and existence of every member in each division. The working of the caste system in India, has all along, been simply marvellous.

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## SEX AND MARRIAGE.

### V

*Introduction.*—In encyclopedical and philosophical works, there are various definitions of the word 'marriage,' and most of them are merely of juridical or ethnical nature, comprehending either what is required to make the union legal, or what in the eye of an idealist, the union ought to be. Broadly defined, "marriage," says Westermarck, "is nothing more than a more or less durable connection between a male and a female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring."<sup>1</sup> This is a biological definition of marriage which applies to man and his animal precursors. It excludes all loose connections, which by usage do not come under the name of marriage. It is thus obvious, that marriage centres in the child, and has at the outset, no reason for existence apart from the welfare of the offspring. Among human races, when sexual unions are not followed by offspring there may be other reasons for the continuance of the unions, but they are not reasons in which either nature or society is in the least directly concerned.<sup>2</sup>

The definition of Westermarck given above fails to do justice to the human element of marriage in particular. Because it includes not only all illegitimate unions that are excluded from the category, but also does not cover those temporary unions or alliances, entered into or formed for a short period, as 'among the Arabs who take a wife for the purpose of a journey or even for a night!'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck, *The History Human Marriage*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Source Book for Social Origins*, p. 435.

<sup>3</sup> Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, p. 519.

Dr. Rosenthal, on the other hand, says "that neither the duration of marriage, nor the birth of a progeny, constitutes wedlock." For in the absence of a progeny the mere living together of two partners, must still be counted wedlock, so long as there is the intention of procreation. "It is the purpose of race propagation, rather than the actual result that forms the first pre-requisite of marriage." Two chief elements that constitute marriage according to this authority, are the legal and social recognitions of the union, which must supplement Westermarck's definition, and these vary in conformity with the spirit of the age. Marriage according to Havelock Ellis, "is a union prompted by mutual love and a method of propagating the race."<sup>1</sup>

"Marriage," says Ellen Key, "signifies the living together of two people upon the ground of love and the parenthood of children."<sup>2</sup> In fact, marriage may be subsumed under its ethical aspect as a physio-spiritual communion between man and woman for the purpose of procreation. Marriage then as understood in the modern spirit is the idea of race production and the complete union of personalities.

The primitive society conceived marriage to be a tribal institution with a two-fold purpose, namely, the continuance of the family for self-defence by having sons, and the discharge of the primary duty of the worship of the dead by the eldest male of the line. The latter became highly developed among all nations of the world, and a religious sanction was given to the sexual union. Hence arose marriage and the rites attached to it.

*Marriage and celibacy.*—So indispensable does marriage seem to man, that a person who does not marry is looked upon with contempt or is at any rate disdained.

<sup>1</sup> H. Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, VI, p. 607.

<sup>2</sup> Ellen Key, *The Women's Movement*, p. 150.

Among the Hindus, celibacy is regarded as an impiety and misfortune; "an impiety, because one who does not marry puts the happiness of the manes of the family to peril, a misfortune because he would receive no worship after his death."<sup>1</sup> A man's happiness in the next world depends upon his having a continuous line of male descendants whose duty it is to make the periodical offerings for the peace of his soul.<sup>2</sup> Hence it is that marriage has become a religious duty, the twelfth *Samskara* incumbent upon all.<sup>3</sup> Until he finds a wife, a man is only half of a whole; and among the Hindus of the present day, a celibate is considered to be a useless member of the society, and is looked upon as beyond the pale of nature, and all women without exception are bound to marry. Mahomedans also consider marriage a duty both for man and woman. It was declared to be an institution ordained for the protection of society, in order that human beings might guard themselves from foulness and unchastity. Among the Hebrews also celibacy is unheard of, and marriage is, as among the Brahmans, looked upon as a religious duty.

According to the Talmud, the authorities can compel a man to enter into wedlock with a woman of the race, and he who lives single at the age of twenty, is accursed by God, as if he were a murderer. There is a Jewish proverb which says, that he who does not marry is no man. The desire for offspring, particularly sons, had its root in the religious belief, and is the outcome of the idea that the spirit of the dead would be made happy by homage received at the hands of the male descendants.<sup>4</sup>

The early Christian Church did not deviate much from this view, and tried to banish sexual love altogether

<sup>1</sup> Laws of Manu, Ch. IX, Verse 137.

<sup>2</sup> Laws of Manu, Ch. IX, Verse 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, Ch. II, Verse 66.

<sup>4</sup> Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, pp. 407-408.

from the scheme of life; because it looked upon wedlock "as a carnal connection, a safety valve against lust," and yet sanctified it by declaring it a sacrament.

It must be noted that the number of celibates in all Hindu castes is very small, and this is a marked contrast to the increasing number of them in European and other countries, where the growing difficulties of supporting a family is keenly felt. The same difficulties though existing in the former, is not here properly understood. It has been observed that the frequency of marriages is a very sensible barometer of the hope which the mass of the people have for the future. This statement is true among the very low castes, in which more weddings take place after a good harvest, and very few in the absence of it. In the higher castes marriages are compulsory before girls come of age.

*Sexual selection.* In all the low castes of the (Cochin) State from the Nambuthiri-Brahmans down to the Pulayans, the liberty of choice in matrimonial alliance is seldom allowed to the contracting parties. As early marriage is the rule, the parents of the bride and bridegroom along with the maternal uncle and their nearest relatives, make all the necessary arrangements preliminary to the wedding. This custom prevails in all Hindu castes without exception. Even when the parties are of age, the same functions are exercised by the parents. This is probably on account of the exclusive right and control which the father has over his children. Among the Hebrews according to the Talmudic Law, a marriage to be valid, must be contracted with the voluntary consent of both the parties concerned. According to all the Muhammadan schools, a son is free to enter into conjugal union, without the consent of his father, after his fifteenth year. The Hanafis and Shiahs grant the same privilege to a daughter, whereas according

to other schools, a woman is made free from paternal control only through marriage. A Muhammadan father has a right to get his sons and daughters married alike during their minority, but the law takes care that this right shall never be exercised to the prejudice of the infant. Any act of the father prejudicial to the rights of the minor is considered illegal, and entitles the judge to prevent the completion of such an act, or if completed, to annul it.<sup>1</sup>

The Koran prohibits a man from marrying his foster-mother and foster sister. "Christianity introduced a new obstacle to marriage by establishing the so-called *Cognatio Spiritualis* or spiritual relationship." There cannot be any intermarriage between a man and a woman for whom he has stood as a godfather in baptism, the position being analogous to that of a father and a child. To this law the church added various other prohibitions of relationship. "Marriage with a deceased brother's widow as well as with a deceased wife's sister was prohibited by Canon law, and is prohibited by the laws of many especially of Latin countries although dispensation was easily obtained."<sup>2</sup>

The father as the head of a patriarchal family had absolute control over his wife and his household, could sell them, chastise them, dispose of sons and daughters in marriage, and divorce them at will. This state became mitigated in time, and woman was considered legally a minor. "In the house of her father, she was under his tutelage, at marriage she passed into the tutelage of her husband, and after his death into that of her son or male next of kin." The patriarchate denotes the complete subjection of womanhood. This has been, and is even now the old Hindu ideal, and the new modern spirit, based

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck—The History of Human Marriage, pp. 225, 231.

<sup>2</sup> Westermarck—The History of Human Marriage, Vol. II, p. 153.

upon western culture is slowly leading to its decline. The determining factor then in sexual selection is one of mutual attraction and love, which depend upon various other factors including economic considerations. "As for modern European marriages, Nowdaw believes that not less than nine out of ten of them, are marriages of convenience and in no sense love marriages."

Among Hindus of all castes the consent of the mother, brother and maternal uncle is regarded as chiefly necessary. Presents are given them to gain their good will. According to the Laws of Manu a daughter might choose her husband in accordance with her own wish, but the legislator disapproves of the voluntary union of a maiden and her lover, which springs from desire and has intercourse for its purpose. The four marriages *bramham-daivam, arsham* and *prajaplayam* in which the father gives away his daughter are blessed marriages, and from them spring sons radiant with knowledge of the Veda, honoured by good men, and destined to live a hundred years. By the remaining four marriages those affected by purchase, voluntary union, forcible abduction or stealth are forcible marriages from which spring sons who are cruel and untruthful who hate the Veda and the sacred law. Narada says, that a maiden shall be given in marriage by her father, by her brother with the father's authority or by her paternal grandfather or by her maternal uncle or by cognates or agnates or in default of all these by her mother, if she is competent to act as a guardian or by distant relations if the mother is not competent. Vasishtha XV. 1 ; Baudhayana Parisishta VII. 5 ; Laws of Manu VIII. 389.

"The parental authority springs from the natural superiority over their children, their proprietary right over their offspring being their originators and maintainers, filial duties. Their blessings beget prosperity and their curses bring ruin. Neither God, nor man who has understanding will ever advise anyone to neglect his parents." (Plato's laws.)

*Prohibition of Marriage between kindred.* As a rule, the selection of persons for marriage is guided mainly by two rules : first, that they must be outside the family ;



secondly, that they must be inside the caste. According to the Hindu *sastras*, persons who are related as *Sapindas*<sup>1</sup> cannot marry. This relationship extends to six degrees, where the common ancestor is a male; but there is a difference of opinion as to the rule when the common ancestor is a female. To this restriction is also added another rule, that the parties to the marriage should not be of the same *Gotra* or *Pravara*, i. e., they must not be of the same family, nor invoke the same ancestor. Conjugal relationship between the first cousins is seldom allowed. Among the Nambuthiri Brahmans, the members of a Vedic family avoid matrimonial alliances with those of a non-Vedic, but among their various sections, intermarriage is generally in vogue, and marriage among various sub-divisions of the non-Vedic community is endogamous. Among the Tamil and Konkani Brahmins also, the same *gotra* or *pravara* restrictions prevail. Among the latter, a young man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or paternal aunt.

Among the high caste Sudras (Nayars) marriage is hypergamous, while among the low caste Sudras it is endogamous. This is the general rule, though exceptions may sometimes be found. A Nayar is allowed to form matrimonial alliance with a woman either in his own sub-divisions or one lower in the social scale than himself, but his womenkind in the latter case, are prohibited from exercising the same liberty. This is called *anulomam* and *prathilomam*. Dr. Gundert derives *anulomam* from *anu* with *Lomam* or *romam*, hair, going with the hair or grain. According to this usage, a Nayar woman consorting with a man of the higher caste follows the hair, purifies the blood, and raises the progeny in

<sup>1</sup> Sapindas are those who begin from the bride or bridegroom, only, and counting exclusive of six or four degrees upwards according as the relationship with the common ancestor is reached with the aforesaid degree on both sides.

social estimation. By cohabiting with a man of lower subdivision, clan or caste, she would be guilty of *prathilōmam*; and if the difference of caste were admittedly great, she would be turned out of her family to prevent the whole family being boycotted. In many cases the Nambuthiris, Embrans, Pothi and Tamil Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Ambalavasis form alliance with Nayar women; but the latter and their children cannot touch their husbands and fathers without polluting them. Children of this union belong to the mother's family. In the clan system descent was at first reckoned in the female line: uterine ties alone constituted kinship. The father was not regarded as related even to his children, bear the clan name, and the clan name becomes the test of blood relationship. Among the Nayars, Ambalavasis and Malayali Kshatriyas, the same customs are in force, and kinship is reckoned through the female line. "The womb dyes the child." Marriage is endogamous among the low-caste Sudras; it is strictly prohibited even in the case of two persons belonging to the same family or whose relationship cannot be traced to its origin, but it is only traditional. A man cannot marry the sister of his deceased wife, nor from her family. These customs are slowly changing.

The marriage customs above referred to are applicable to the Ishuvans also. The best form of marriage among them as among the Nayars is, where a man marries the daughter of his maternal uncle over whom he has a preferential claim. Marriage of cousins which alludes to a matrimonial custom prevailing among the Dravidians of Southern India, is more widespread, and on the whole more deleterious than the custom of premature marriage. This is the Dravidian custom by which a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, his sister's daughter or father's sister's daughter. The custom is not confined to any particular caste, and is creeping into Brahminism.

Speaking broadly, marriage among the fishing castes (Válan, Arayan, Mukkuvan and Marakkán), the Kammàlans (Asári—Carpenter, Musári—bell-metal-worker, Kollan—blacksmith, Tattán—Goldsmith, and Tholkollan—leather-worker), Pánan, Vélan, and Kaniyán—astrologer, is endogamous as regards the caste, but is exogamous as regards *illam* or *Kiriyam* (house) which corresponds to *gotram*. In certain parts of the state, the Pulluvans marry in the same family, and this custom is also dying out.<sup>1</sup>

The agrestic serfs follow the customs of their landlords, those serving the Nayars, follow their customs, while those under the Brahmans observe the exogamic rule of *illam* or *Kiriyam* already referred to. Among the jungle folk, the Kadans do not generally marry a girl related to him on the male side. As a rule, marriage between persons descended in a direct line from the same parents is forbidden, if the relationship can be traced to any extent. The customs prevail also among the Konga Malaysians. Among the Jews and Jonakan Mappillas, cousins of all degrees intermarry. From this it may be seen, that endogamy and exogamy occur side by side with each other among the same people. There is thus an outer circle out of which marriage is either definitely prohibited or considered improper, an inner small circle within which no conjugal relations are allowed. Among the Hindus endogamy is thus the essence of the caste system.<sup>2</sup>

Prohibitions of intermarriage between kindred are based on the fear of complicate relationship, concentration of affection within too narrow a circle, inducement to keep the property within the family, violation of God's law as the outrage of natural modesty, incest, and the injurious

<sup>1</sup> Census of India, 1911, Vol. XII, Part I, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, p. 407.

results to the offspring. In this connection it is interesting to note that the result of many frequent consanguineous marriages of the Jews of Europe and elsewhere, has been an exceedingly large number of physical and mental defectives among them. Many writers on the pathology of the Jews, say, that the excessive proportion of the deaf, mute, blind, insane, idiotic, imbecile and diabetic persons among them is the result of breeding in-and-in which has been going on for centuries among the Jews of Europe.<sup>1</sup> The same facts are observed in some of the members of South Indian castes. The late Dr. Nayar states that in the large number of deaf mutes that came under his observation, an appreciable percentage are children of the consanguineous marriages.

Practical conclusions:—From a close observation of facts, and from statistics of consanguineous marriages in the various countries of Europe and in the United States, it has been concluded that the effects of heredity in such close alliances are very much aggravated. It has not also been possible without doubt, that the absence of outside blood alone is responsible for the degeneration in the offspring. The practical aim of anti-consanguinists is to dissuade from the contraction of marriages by blood relation. They will depart from this principle on very rare occasions only, and see that the parties are free from any hereditary predisposition. For according to the laws of heredity, the possibility is not precluded that two similar predispositions which on account of their slight intensity may not be recognisable in the parents individually, but may combine in the offspring, and become so pronounced as to assume a definite pathological character; and this is likely to be the case in consanguineous marriages.—Sanator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in relation to Marriage*, pp. 121-122.

*Reasons which led to the Prohibition of Marriage  
between Kindred.*

*Totemism.*—The existence of Totemism in India has been only recently studied. It gives an important infor-

<sup>1</sup> The Jews. Contemporary Science Series, pp. 250-251.

mation on the development of castes from tribes. In the Dravidian region of India it is found that a large body of tribes and castes is broken up into a number of totemistic septs. Each sept has the name of an animal, a plant or some material object, which the members of that sept are prohibited from killing, eating, cutting, burning, etc. "Well defined tribes of this group are found among the Dravidian Santals and Oraons, both of whom still retain their original language, worship non-Aryan Gods, and have a fairly compact tribal organization." The subject has not been properly investigated in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.

"A totem according to Frazer is a class of natural phenomena or material object,—most commonly a species of animals or plants between which and himself the savage believes that a certain intimate relation exists. The exact nature of the relation is not easy to ascertain. Various explanations have been suggested, but none has till now won general acceptance. Whatever it may be, it generally leads the savage to abstain from killing or eating his totem, if his totem happens to be a species of animals or plants. "Further a group of persons who are knit to any particular totem by this mysterious tie, commonly bears the name of a totem, believes themselves to be of one blood, and strictly refuses to sanction the marriage or cohabitation of members of the group with each other. The prohibition to marry within the group is now generally called by the name of exogamy. Thus totemism has formerly been treated as a primitive system both of religion and of society. As a system of religion it embraces the mystic union of the savage with his totem. As a system of society it refers to the relations in which men and women of the same totem stand to each other, and to the members of other totemic groups. The rough and

ready tests or canons of totemism always refer to these two sides of the system, *i.e.*, the rule that a man may not kill or eat his totem or animal or plant; and secondly the rule that he may not marry or cohabit with a woman of the same totem. Whether these two sides, religious and social, have either co-existed or are really independent, has not been satisfactorily answered. Some writers, Sir John Lubbock, Herbert Spencer, have held that totemism arose as a system of society only, and that the superstitious regard for the totem developed later through a simple process of misunderstanding, while McLennan and Robertson Smith opine that the religious reverence for the totem is original and have preceded the introduction of exogamy.”<sup>1</sup>

Sir James Frazer suggests that exogamy may be due to a belief that the intercourse of near kin is injurious both to the progeny and to the whole community. He also points out that among various peoples intercourse is thought to render the women sterile and to endanger the common food supply by perverting edible animals from multiplying and edible plants from growing. “The idea that sexual crime in general, and incest in particular, blights the crops is common among the people of the Malayan Stock on Indian archipelago, Indo-China, and West Africa. Similar notions prevailed among the primitive Aryans including the ancient Greeks.”<sup>2</sup> The prohibition of marriage between kindred is universal, while the customs above referred to are not.

Durkheim, on the other hand, derives exogamy from a religious sentiment which is due to some magical virtues attributed to the menstruous blood of women and the religious awe for blood. This he traces to totemism which is the ultimate source of not only clan exogamy but all other prohibitions against all incest as well. (Durkheim in *L'anne Sociologique*, I. 47.)

M. Reinach approves of Professor Durkheim's idea that the prohibition of incest is a particular case of blood tabu, but suggests that exogamy is intended to prevent the shedding of blood of a woman

<sup>1</sup> Risley, *The People of India*, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, IV. 157, *Psychia Task*, p. 44.

of one's own defloration, and that belongs to the same class of prohibitions as the commandment. "Thou shalt not kill." (Reinach: *Cultes, Mythes et religions* 1. 165.)

"Exogamous rules," says Dr. Westermarck, "are regarded as social survivals from very remote ages." They all suppose that these rules have originated in social conditions which no longer exist, or in ideas which have been found only among a few savages or which have never been found anywhere.

"Now it is really possible to believe" says Frazer, "that a law like that of incest among ourselves could be traced to a pristine habit of female infanticide, or to the vain desire of savage men to have trophies to their wives or to marriage by capture originating in the hypothetical period of primitive promiscuity, or to the experience of the injurious influence of all breeding male at an earlier stage of human development, than that represented by any living savages, but afterwards forgotten, or to a superstitious belief that incest endangers the crops to the furious jealousy of a gorilla-like ancestor.

"Moreover the theories in question imply that the home is kept free from incestuous intercourse by law, custom, or education. But even if social prohibitions might prevent unions between the nearest relatives they could not prevent the desire for such unions. The sexual instincts might hardly be changed by prescriptions. I doubt whether all laws against homo-sexual intercourse, even the most draconic have ever been able to extinguish the peculiar desire of anybody born with homo-sexual tendencies. Nevertheless our laws against incest are scarcely felt as a restraint upon individual feelings. And the simple reason for this is that in normal cases there is no desire for the acts which they forbid. Generally speaking there is a remarkable absence of erotic feelings between persons living very closely together from childhood. Nay more, in this as in many other cases sexual indifference is combined with the positive feeling of aversion, when the act is thought of. This is taken to be the fundamental cause of the exogamous prohibitions. Persons who have been closely together from childhood are, as a rule, near relatives. Hence their aversion to sexual relations with one another displays itself in custom and law as a prohibition of intercourse between near kin. The existence of a feeling of the kind suggested or at least



of sexual indifference to housemates has been recognised by various writers as a psychological fact proved by common experience."<sup>1</sup>

According to Bentham, "individuals accustomed to see each other from an age which is neither capable of conceiving the desire nor of inspiring it, will see each other with the same eyes to the end of life." Dr. Havelock Ellis writes "between those who have been brought up together from childhood all the sensory stimuli of vision, hearing, and touch have been dulled by use, trained to the calm level of affection and deprived of their potency to arouse erotic excitement which produces sexual tumescence."<sup>2</sup>

*Origin of Exogamy.*—It may be traced to the more general law of natural selection. There is always a tendency in individuals or groups of individuals to vary their habits, and useful variations tend to be preserved and ultimately transmitted. If we suppose that in a primitive community, the men happen to be in the direction of taking their wives from some other community, and this infusion of fresh blood prove advantageous to the group, the original instinct would then be stimulated by heredity, and the element of sexual selection would gradually come into play. An exogamous group would have always larger choice of women than an endogamous one, and could thus get finer women, who in the course of primitive struggle for wives would be appropriated by strongest and most warlike men. The exogamous neighbours tend at any rate to deprive them of their marriageable girls. The custom of exogamy would thus spread partly by imitation and partly by the extinction of groups which did not practise it. In the course of pre-historic evolution, it is not unreasonable to suppose that here and there some half accidental circumstance, such as the transmission of a physical defect of hereditary disease, may have given primitive men a sort of warning to induce the particular kind of variation,

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck. *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Bentham, *Theory of Legislation*, p. 220.



which the circumstances have required. Conquest again may have produced the same effect by bringing about a beneficial mixture of stocks by marrying the women of the conquered race.<sup>1</sup>

*The Psychology of Exogamy.*—Exogamy is the chief characteristic of the primitive marriage system; which refers to the prohibition of conjugal union within the house, because as Robertson Smith rightly remarked:—"Whatever is the origin of the bars to marriage, they are early associated with the feeling that it is indecent for housemates to intermarry. The practice of exogamy has provoked a number of ingenious theories most of which are unsatisfactory, either because of their failure to cover the acts completely or to assume in the situation, conditions which do not exist. They did not reckon sufficiently with the natural disposition and habits of man in early society, particularly with his attitude in sexual matters."

It is said that from a close observation of the sex habits the lower races are very much interested in sexual life, and that a large part of their thought and even of their inventive ingenuity is spent in this direction. The pleasures of life are few, but are pursued with vigour. Love bears a very important part, and a failure to perceive this is the great defect of Professor Westermarck, who says that close inbreeding perpetuates or reproduces congenital taint. He says, that if animals are monogamous, man must have been more so. "The fact is that in respect of memory, imagination, clothing, mode of association, and social restraint, man differed radically from animals, and precisely through these added qualities, he took not only an instinctive, but an artificial and reasoned interest in sexual practices. This resulted in a state of consciousness which made sexual life interesting in contrast with the pairing season among the animals, and also in a constant tendency to promiscuity. "Whether this state was ever reached or not, the widespread nature of various unnatural practices, the use of aphrodisiacs, the practice of drawing attention to the girls at puberty, phallic worship, erotic dances and periodic orgies are all found

<sup>1</sup> Thomas: *Sex and Society*, pp. 170-78.

among the natural races." "Again the desire of men to obtain girl wives and even a claim on infants, assuring virginity and marriage at a moment of sexual maturity; and the African custom of infibulation are instances to show that sexual element occupied a large place in the consciousness of the natural races."<sup>1</sup>

Further it must be considered that sexual life is organically a utilization of a surplus nutriment, and that when food and leisure are abundant, there is tendency on the part of sexual activity to become a play activity. While there was no leisured class in society, primitive man was a man of leisure in the sense that his work and activities were intermittent. A successful hunt was followed by a period of rest, recuperation and surplus energy, and a consequent turning of attention to sexual life with the result that the interest appears as one of the main play interests among the natural races.<sup>2</sup>

"In the earliest times, women are the sole creators of certain economic values and since women contributed to the support of men, as men contributed to the support of women, the latter naturally kept as many women as possible. This led to what is called elopement. It is also true that marriage meant sometimes elopement with married women as among the civilised nations; and the difficulties in the way of youngmen in getting wives among themselves are considered. It may be expected that they would make the practice of capturing women from other tribes; and this marriage by capture has been assumed to be at the basis of exogamy, by both Lubbock and Spencer. But this theory of the capture of women for marriage from other tribes is too weak to stand, and instances are not many. It is not to be denied that the sexual impulse of the male was sometimes strong enough to lead him to seize a woman wherever he found her, if he could not get a wife otherwise; but there is no evidence of the capture as a regular means of getting wives. As soon as men ceased to marry the women of their own blood, and went outside their immediate families for them, they secured them in a social not in a hostile way, and from a different branch of their group, and not generally from a strange group. In fact the regular means of securing a wife other than a woman of one's own family was for securing a woman of another. Among some races exchange of sisters is one mode of negotiating marriage. Now the problem of

<sup>1</sup> & <sup>2</sup> Thomas: *Sex and Society*, pp. 177-79.

exogamy is to determine why men living with women and controlling them should cease to marry them. It has been already said that the interest of man is not held, nor the emotions aroused when the objects of attention have grown so familiar in consciousness, that the problematic and elusive elements disappear. An excited condition of the nervous system is a necessary preparation to pairing. In the marriage among relations, or among the women of the same clan, these two elements cannot be brought into full play, and as the standard of culture improves, the idea of incest becomes an important factor."<sup>1</sup>

We must recognise the fact that monogamy is a habit acquired by the race, not because it has answered the organic interest of the individual more completely, but it has to a satisfactory degree served social needs by assuring the women and her children, the undivided interest and support of the man. In early times the law of natural selection operated to preserve the groups in which a monogamous or a quasi-monogamous tendency showed itself, and in historical times, and among ourselves, all our machinery of religion and state has been set in motion in favour of the system. In point of fact members of civilized societies have become so refined and have so far accepted the ethical standards, that monogamy is a system actually favoured on sentimental grounds as well as on grounds of expediency by a large majority of civilized population.

On the contrary speaking from the biological standpoint monogamy does not generally satisfy the conditions of highest stimulation, because the disappearance of the problematical and elusive elements to some extent, and the object of attention has grown so familiar in consciousness that the emotional reactions are qualified. This is the real explanation of the fact that married men and women frequently become interested in others than their partners in matrimony. A large body of the literature of intrigue represented by the tales of Boccaccio and Margaret of Navarre and sensational novels bear testimony to this fact.<sup>2</sup>

Familiarity with women of the group, unfamiliarity with women outside the group is the explanation of exogamy on the side of interest, and the system of exogamy is the result of exchanging familiar women for others, and it was fully developed before property

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *Sex and Society*, pp. 181-192.

<sup>2</sup> & <sup>3</sup> Thomas, *Sex and Society*, p. 194.

and media of exchange were developed to any extent, and consequently before the purchase of women had become a system. "Starting out with a single pair, when the family increases in size a separation is necessary; and the clans are an outcome of the progress of a division and redivision, the bond between the clans and their union in a tribe resulting from their consciousness of kinship. It is a well-known condition of exogamy that a man should marry without his clan, he must not marry without his tribe. In other words allied clans give their women and exchange mutually. This was a natural arrangement both because the two groups were neighbours and friendly, and at the same time the psychological demand for newness was satisfied. When this is established in a group as a habit, it is regarded as binding and inevitable. It is moral, and its contrary is immoral." When we consider the binding nature of the food taboos, of the *convade* and of the regulation that a man shall not speak to, or look at his mother-in-law or sister, the habit of marrying out introduced through the charm of unfamiliarity can be easily understood. It may therefore be concluded that exogamy is one expression of the more restless and energetic habit of the male. It is psychologically true, that only the unfamiliar, and not completely controlled is interesting. "The states of high emotional tension are due to the presentation of the unfamiliar, *i.e.*, the unanalysed the uncontrolled to the attention." The intimate association and daily familiarity of family life produce affection, but they are not favourable to the genesis of romantic love. Cognition is so complete that no place is left for emotional appreciation. "The common expressions 'falling in love' and 'love at sight' imply unfamiliarity; and there can be no question then that man and woman would prefer at present to get mates away from home, even if there were no prejudice against the marriage of near kin."<sup>1</sup>

*Endogamy*.—Endogamy restricts intermarriage in one direction by creating a number of artificially small groups within which people must marry. Exogamy brings about the same result by artificially enlarging the circle within which they may not marry. As has been pointed out exogamy is one-sided in its operation. In no case may a man marry into his own group, but the name of the group goes by the male side, and consequently so far as

<sup>1</sup> Thomas: *Sex and Society*, pp. 194-97.

the rule of exogamy is concerned, there is nothing to prevent him from marrying his sister's daughter, his maternal aunt or even his maternal grandmother. The endogamous rules are in the first place due to the proud antipathy people feel to races, nations, castes or religions different from their own. He who breaks such a rule is regarded as an offender against the circle to which he belongs. He hurts its feelings, he disgraces it at the same time as he disgraces himself.<sup>1</sup> Irregular connections outside the endogamous circle are looked upon with less intolerance than marriage which places the parties on a more equal footing. Modern civilization tends more or less to pull down the barriers which separate races, nations, the various classes of society and the adherents of different religions. The endogamous circles have thus become less stringent and less restricted.

*Racial Endogamy and its causes*: In spite of the intermixture of the races, taking place in all parts of the world, every race considers it a disgrace to marry within a very different race, at least if it be an inferior one. This feeling is particularly strong with regard to its women. Where crossings take place between unequal races, the father invariably belongs to the superior one. "Women," says M. Quatrefages, "refuses to lower herself; man is less delicate." As far as possible, racial union is viewed with disfavour all over the world. In India intercaste and intertribal marriages are strictly prohibited. The absence of such unions is due to racial, national or tribal pride and lack of sympathy as well as to the instinctive aversion arising from the physiological law of similarity. In some cases intercrossing is accompanied by lessened fertility.<sup>2</sup>

*Hypergamy or marrying up* is the custom which forbids a woman of a particular group to marry a man of a group lower than her own in social standing, and compels her to marry in a group equal or superior in rank. The men of the division can marry in it or below it; the

<sup>1</sup> Risley, *People of India*, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Quatrefages, *Human Species*, p. 267.

woman can marry in it or above it. The following are instances of hypergamous divisions—(1) The four classes or *varnas* as described in the Hindu Law books (*Smrithies*) which seem to deal with a period of transition when caste was being gradually evolved out of a series of hypergamous classes. Thus one set of passages Manu, Baudhayana, Vishnu and Narada which allows a Brahman to marry in succession a woman of each of the four castes; while other texts from the same authority prevent him from marrying a Sudra woman. According to Baudhayana, Gautama, Usana, marriages in which the wife was only one grade below the husband are freely admissible, and the children take the rank of the father, so that the son of a Sudra woman by a Vaisya counted a Vaisya. On the contrary all authorities agree in condemning marriage between men of the lower classes and women of higher. In Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, among the Nambuthiris there are two main divisions, Vedic and non-Vedic. A woman of the non-Vedic class is seldom married to a member of the Vedic class, while a woman of the Vedic class is married by a man of the non-Vedic. The girl in a way loses her superior status, and is not allowed to mingle freely in her own family, whenever she returns there on important occasions. Among the Nayars, a Nayar woman may enter into conjugal relations with a man of her own division or one in a higher division, but she is generally outcasted when she mates with one of a lower division. Similar instances are met with in other castes in the Madras Presidency.

*Influence of Hypergamy.*—Husbands are at a premium in the higher groups, and become the objects of vigorous competition, the bride-price of the early usages disappears, and is replaced by the bridegroom-price, now paid among most of the higher castes in India. The rich get their daughters married in or above proper rank, poor people

are given to reckless borrowing or finally resort to other means, if they would avoid the disgrace of letting their daughters grow up unmarried. "There are unhappily several ways says Risley, of redressing the unequal proportions of the sexes and putting artificially straight, what has been artificially made crooked." Well-to-do parents of the Nayar girls, in some localities have begun to pay bridegroom's price to secure husbands with high University degrees.

*Age of the contracting parties.*—Religious compulsion to marry, the obligation to marry girls before the attainment of puberty, and the prohibition of the marriage of widows, which are so characteristic of the majority of the Indian population, are in force in the Cochin State, only among the Tamil, Konkani and other foreign Brahmans and also among some Tamul Sudras. The Nambuthiris are the only indigenous Brahmans among whom child marriage is absolutely unknown. The early age at which the girls are married, and the great preponderance of widows over widowers are features sufficiently prominent in Cochin as elsewhere in India. Nearly 20 per cent. of the population of the State follow the Marumakkathayam Law of inheritance, and among them marriage is not compulsory from a religious point of view, as it is among the several other classes of Hindus. Child marriage in the form of irrevocable betrothal is unknown among them, nor is the remarriage of widows prohibited. In these latter respects, the Kammálans, the fishing castes Váls, Kadal Aryans, Mukkuyans and Marakkáns, the Izhuvans, Kaniyáns and other indigenous castes, though to a certain extent governed by the Marumakkatháyam law, follow the lead of the Nayars, while the Christians and the Jonakan Máppillas, who form a third of the population, marry their girls only after they come of age (though exceptions are often met with), and freely allow



remarriage of widows. Tamul Brahman girls, and those of the Konkanis are married before they come of age. Even among them the marriagable age is gradually rising. Among the rest of the people, girls are seldom married before they attain the twelfth year, the average age when all sections of the population, including Christians and Muhammadans, are taken together, being about 14. In the case of males the average age is about 20; though these ages are quite early when compared with most parts of India. The different religious communities of the State present somewhat different features in regard to early marriage. Christian males marry earlier, and Christian females later than their Hindu brothers and sisters, while in the case of Muhammadans both males and females marry later than the followers of other religions. The prevailing opinion of the educated members of the Nayar Community in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, regarding the marriage of boys and girls is 16 years for girls, and 25 years for boys, when their education may be fairly over.

In his science of a New Life John Bowan says :—

“ The great error in fixing the present age for marriage arises from taking the arrival of puberty as the proper time, it being popularly supposed that when this is present, the woman is capable of reproduction and is ready for marriage. This is a fallacy, for marriage should be consummated only between a physiologically perfect man and woman. Physical perfection implies ripeness, indicated by the full growth of every organ in the human organization. Now, when puberty first shows itself, the osseous part of the system is not fully grown which implies that the reproductive element is not full-grown. Its appearance only indicates its continuance to perfect growth in harmony with all the other organized parts of the body. “ Broadly speaking, sexuality becomes pronounced



as growth ceases. Especially in higher organisms a distinction must obviously be drawn between the period at which it is possible for males and females to unite in fertile sexual union, and the period at which such union will virtually occur or will result in the fittest offspring."

*Marriage ceremonies and rites.*—Among primitive men, marriage was celebrated without any ceremony whatever, and this is still the case with many uncivilized people in various parts of the world. Marriage ceremonies arose by degrees and in various ways. The ceremony often indicates the new relation into which the man and woman enter. Sometimes it symbolizes sexual intercourse, but far more frequently the living together or the wife's subjection to the husband; but the Brahman ideal of marriage according to Hindu Sastras falls under two main sub-divisions, *viz.*, *Dharma vivāham* or canonical marriage, and *kāma vivāham* or marriage for the sake of enjoyment. Under the former are included *Brāhman*, *Daivam*, *Ārsham* and *Prájāpatyam*;<sup>1</sup> and under the latter, *Āsuram*, *Gāndharvam*, *Rákshasam* and *Paisācham*.<sup>2</sup> The first class of alliance or canonical marriage is a form of social marriage, the primary object of which is to enable a man to perform certain appointed duties (*dharmās*) to society, and to provide for the discharge of those duties in the family even after his death. Hence the married life or the *Garhasta* stage of life is considered a very important one, on which alone vitally depend the other stages, *Brahmachāri*, *Vānaprastā* *Sanyāsi*. For the purpose of this alliance, the selection of suitable partners is an essential pre-requisite. The husband and wife have also to exercise different functions. The former in addition to his social duties is the guardian of the wife's interests, both temporal and secular, and the latter holds herself responsible for all the domestic

<sup>1</sup> *Laws of Manu*, Chap. III, pp. 27-30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 31-34.

functions. The bond of interdependence connects the two in permanent union, and protects it against danger from the possible effects of time on the body and mind of either partner. These advantages are absent in the other type of marriage known as *Kāma Vivāham*, in which the object of the marriage is only individual, and each seeks to get the best partner in his or her personal taste and happiness. Here the children "are the by-products of a conveniency alliance." The question of the ownership of the offspring has to be judged from the history of the human marriages, which have often arisen as a separate question.

The marriage customs of the Cochin Hindu castes may, at first sight, appear to be different, but on a closer examination, it may be seen that most of the customs of the Nambuthiri and Tamul Brahmans which do not vary in the *Sāshtraic* details are grafted on the Malayali and Tamul non-Brahman communities; but the recitation of the Vedic marriage hymns are studiously avoided in the case of Sudras and other low-castes. In the former, the advent of the bridegroom with his party after due invitation to the house of the bride, the waving of lamps, and vessels of water in front of the bride and bridegroom, the gift of the maiden with the recitation of the appropriate Vedic hymns, *Udakapurva Kanyakādanam* clasping of the bride's hand (*Pānigrahanam*) worship of the sacred fire the blessings of Gods, tying of the *tāli* (marriage badge) round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom, going round the sacred fire (*pradakshinam*); the bridegroom taking in hand the right foot of the bride and placing it on a mill stone, *Saptapadi* which is the essential and binding portion of the wedding ceremony, looking at the *Ursa Major*, are common both to the Nambuthiris, the Tamul and other classes of Brahmans. Among the former the

*tali-tying* is done by the father, while among the latter, by the bridegroom alone. Consummation (*sékam*) takes place among the Nambuthiris on the night of the fourth day; while that among Tamul Brahmans, on an auspicious night after the bride comes of age. A Nambuthiri returns to his *illam* (house), if it happens to be near to that of his bride, on the same day for adoration of the sacred fire, while a Tamul Brahman youth, on an auspicious day after four days' feastings in the bride's house.<sup>1</sup>

The above rites are more or less being adopted by Tamul Sudras, Ambattons, Chákkans (oil-mongers), Deván-gás, Kaikolans, Kudumichetties, and Pandárams for whom the sacred fire is prepared by an inferior class of Brahman priests. They are not directed to recite the Vedic text, but are given specific directions regarding the performance of each in the programme. The joining of the hands of the bride and bridegroom, taking the bride by the hand, is an important function in the programme. Sometimes the little finger of the right hand of the bridegroom is joined to the left hand of the bride. Sometimes the bride and the bridegroom eat from the same dish. The bridegroom is accompanied by the best man, who seems originally to have been the chief abettor of the bridegroom in the act of capture.<sup>2</sup>

The religious ceremonies connected with the marriage are not limited to prayers, sacrifices and other means of pleasing the gods. Efforts are made to ascertain their will beforehand. Among the Hindu castes, astrologers are often consulted beforehand as to the agreement of the horoscopes; auspicious days, even hours. Among the Hebrews, marriage was no religious contract and there was no trace of a priestly consecration of it, either in the scriptures or in the Talmud. Yet, according to Ewald, it may

<sup>1</sup> & <sup>2</sup> Cohin Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, p. 182-94.



A Group of Nayar Girls for Tali-tying



be taken for granted, that a consecration took place on the day of betrothal or wedding, though the particulars have not been preserved in any ancient description. Among the Mohammadans also, marriage, though a civil contract, is concluded with a prayer to Allah. Christianity gave back to marriage its religious character. The founder of the Christian church had not prescribed any ceremonies in connection with it, but in the earliest times Christians on their own accord asked for their pastor's benediction. This was not indeed a necessity, and for widows sacerdotal nuptials had been allowed. Though this was recognised in the 12th century, marriage was considered valid without ecclesiastical benediction till the year 1563, when the Council of Trent made it essentially a religious ceremony. Protestants do not regard marriage as a divine institution. Hence the sacerdotal nuptial remains as indispensable as ever.<sup>1</sup>

The Nayers who follow the inheritance in the female line observe matrimonial customs different from those above described. There are two forms of marriage in vogue among them, viz., *Thāiikettu Kalyānam* (tāli-tying ceremony) and the *Sambandham* (the customary nuptial union of man and woman) the first of which is performed for every Nayar girl before puberty, and the second, the real adult marriage is celebrated after she comes of age. The *tāli-tying* for every girl is compulsory before she attains maturity, and the omission or neglect of it will place her and her family under a ban; for it is considered a religious impurity for a girl to attain puberty before the performance of this ceremony. There is however a tendency for these restrictions to be overlooked now-a-days.<sup>2</sup>

The main features of this ceremony are the following :

(1) the performance of this ceremony (*tāli-tying*) in the

<sup>1</sup> Havelock Ellis. *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, pp. 435-36.

<sup>2</sup> *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, Chap. II, pp. 20-29.

family for all the girls down to the cradle for the sake of ceremony ; (2) the fixing of an auspicious day and hour for the ceremony by the village astrologer (Kaniyan) after consulting the horoscopes of the girls ; (3) information to the friends and relations in the village, and also to the local chieftains or to their landlord regarding the performance of the ceremony ; (4) *Ashtamangalyam vekkal* (procession to the marriage pandal) to place the eight auspicious things (*viz.*, rice, paddy, tender leaves of cocoanut trees, an arrow, a looking glass, a well-washed cloth, lighted fire and a small wooden box called *cheppu*) which is the formal beginning of the ceremony ; (5) the worship of the sun on the next morning ; (6) a feast during the previous night (*atházham*) ; (7) *tali-tying* for each girl by a separate member of the caste, or by a Thirumulpad for a number of girls, or by the mother before the deity in the nearest temple, or on the *Onam* day in front of the clay image *Mahádevan* ; (8) certain formalities indicative of the wife's duties, *e.g.*, giving the bridegroom betel to chew, giving him water to wash his feet, (9) the feast during the next three days ; (10) their bath on the fourth day and worship of the deity in the temple close by ; (11) their eating together from the same dish, and (12) their formal separation.<sup>1</sup>

Some are of opinion that the *tali-tying* is a sacrament similar to that which prevails among the Brahmans, but looking on this form of marriage now in vogue, it is not regarded as constituting a religious *samskára* or sacrament in the Hindu or European sense of the word. "There is no officiating priest in attendance, there is no formula to be repeated, there is no *Vedic*, *Puranic* or religious chant or exhortation, and there is no formal benediction. The essential elements of a Brahminical marriage, *viz.*, taking

<sup>1</sup> *Cobin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, Chap. II, pp. 20-29.

the bride by the hand, or *Pánigrahanam*, the walking of seven steps or *saptapadi*, and the *hómam* or sacrifice to the fire, are not to be found among its details. Therefore the marriage customs among *Marumakkatháyam* Hindus have no connection with their religious observances, such as exists under the ordinary Hindu Law, though several of the details bear a resemblance to a portion of the marriage ritual of the Nambuthiris."<sup>1</sup>

The second or the real marriage of the Nayar girls is the *Sambandham* (the customary union of man and woman) which is the principal word denoting the conjugal relations among the Nayars. The customs connected with it vary in different places, but the main features are the same all over. The best form of *Sambandham* is that between the daughter of a maternal uncle and his nephew; but, as a rule, the girls are grown up, and they enjoy much more freedom in the choice of their husbands than other classes of people. As in the tali-tying ceremony the consent of the *Kárnavan*, parents and maternal uncle of the contracting parties, the selection of an auspicious day in consultation with the village astrologer, the departure of the bridegroom with a few of the castemen of the village and friends to the house of the bride-elect, the perusal of the Ramayana or other sacred book referring to marriage and the happy conjugal life attending it, a sumptuous dinner in the house of the bride, the presentation of cloth to the bride at the auspicious hour, and the gifts to the Brahmans who pronounce their benediction upon the conjugal pair, and cohabitation during night, and the departure of the bridegroom to his house next morning are the chief characteristics.<sup>2</sup> Presentation of rings and the conjugal pair garlanding each other are

<sup>1</sup> Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, Chap. II, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-37.



recent innovations. Most of these formalities are intended to give publicity to the union.

The orthodox view of this union is that it is not marriage in the legal or sacramental sense of the term. It is said that the Nambuthiris consort with Nayar women by *Sambandham*, and precisely the same ceremony is gone through, and yet they do not look upon it as a marriage, because the husband cannot eat with his Sudra wife, and is therefore unable to join with her in the wedding feast. It is the same case with other classes of Brahmans also. The aristocracy of the District of Malabar, the Rajas who are admittedly the heads of the Nayar community, and the Nambuthiris who are the expounders of religion, opine that chastity is not one of the duties prescribed for the Nayar community, and *slokas* (verses) are quoted to prove this. This view is not now held in the Cochin State, Malabar or Travancore.

It is also said that either party to the union may terminate it at any time from wantonness, caprice or for any other reason, and that if the couple joined together by the presentation of cloths (*pudamuri*), are satisfied with one night of hymeneal bliss, there is no legal impediment to prevent their separating without any formality on the following morning. Some are of opinion that some formality is necessary, and that parties should not separate without the approval of the *Karnavans* or of their relatives or of their caste people. Under the *Marumakkathayam* Law, he is in no way responsible for the maintenance of the children whom he has begotten upon her. Further, the person that begot a child on a *Marumakkathayam* female, was originally regarded as a casual visitor and the sexual relation depended for his continuance on mutual consent.

The views expressed above are those of the landed aristocracy, and the rulers who are admittedly of the

Nayar caste, Nambuthiris of Malabar, who, to gratify their selfish ends, quote chapter and verse of their own creation in support of the custom and teachings which the Nayars of these days will never submit to. All or nearly all of them cling to one wife for life, and with them *sambandham* is the real marriage, *de facto* and *de jure*. This is the real state of affairs in Malabar, in Cochin and Travancore, as well as in British Malabar. The present and growing tendency in nearly all cases, in which man, whether a Nambuthiri or a Nayar, consorts with a Nayar woman, is to look upon her as the true wife and the children of such unions are looked upon as theirs and duly provided for, so far as their means permit. Nevertheless, the existing state of things in the community did not quite satisfy the sentiments of the educated public. There was a loud cry for reform and legislation in British Malabar. The Madras Government appointed a commission which, after its protracted labours, enacted a permissive law, Act IV of 1896. The main provisions of the bill are, that, when a *Sambandham* has been registered, it shall have the incidence of a legal marriage; that is to say, the wife and children shall be entitled to maintenance by the husband or father respectively, and to succeed to half his self-acquired property if he dies intestate, while the parties to such a *Sambandham* cannot register a second one during its continuance. The law does not extend to the State. The fewness of the number of marriage registrations shows how little the Nayars, as a community, have availed themselves of it. The principal objections urged against it are:—(1) that it ignores caste and customary restrictions on marriage and thereby interferes with caste; (2) that it sanctions what according to social usage is deemed to be incestuous marriage; (3) that marriage before the Registrar is obnoxious to the people, and that no one

has any scruple about going through the customary form; (4) that the provisions relating to divorce are ill-adapted to the present state of society in Malabar, and that revelations of conjugal infidelity in public courts are most repulsive to the people; (5) that the provisions relating to the giving of the whole of the self-acquired property to wives and children amount to violent interference with the customary law.

The mass of the people continued to regard the marriage law with aversion and suspicion, and even the educated members of the community who were in favour of the measure, shrank from taking advantage of it from fear of offending the elderly members of their *tarwards* (families)—and all the powerful Nambuthiris and other great landlords. The Registrar of Calicut also points out, that the power conferred by the marriage law, to make provision for one's own wife and children, has hitherto acted as some inducement to persons to register their *Sambandhams*, but Act V of 1898 enables the followers of the *Marumakkathayam* law to attain this object without registering their *sambandhams*, and “unnecessarily curtailing their liberty of action, and risking the chance of divorce proceedings.”

Such were the sentiments of the Nayar society so far back as 1898. Since then education and culture have very much influenced the community, and they consider the existing manners and customs especially in connection with marriage and inheritance as repulsive. This led to the introduction of another bill into the Madras Legislative Council, but it did not receive its adequate support. After a great deal of agitation a similar bill was introduced into the Travancore Legislative Council, and it was passed on the first of February, 1908. A similar one was recently before the consideration of the Cochin government. It is now passed. Conjugal relations

among the Nayers of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore are legalised.

The Nayar marriage is a form of contract based on mutual consent and dissoluble at will. The incidents of Nayar marriage appear to be almost identical with those of Roman marriage by which, according to Sir Henry Maine, the relation of husband and wife becomes a voluntary conjugal society terminable at the pleasure of either party by divorce. This state of conjugal relation remained to the last the basis of the legal conception of marriage, and to a certain extent colours even the Canon Law founded though it be on a sacramental view of marriage. In ancient Rome as in Malabar, divorce was free. Notwithstanding, in Malabar as in Rome, we have brilliant examples of conjugal fidelity.

It is clear that the natural feeling for one's wife and children has developed to a large extent. There is a growing sense of the family tie as between father and children. The rule is, that the union lasts for life. At any rate, it is so amongst the upper classes of Nayar society where marriage in practice amply satisfies the definition adopted by Lord Penzance in *Hyde v. Hyde*, viz., "the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman, to the exclusion of all others." Divorces are extremely rare. Respectable people discountenance polygamy, and view the practice with undisguised contempt, and regard it as altogether immoral. Conjugal fidelity and self-sacrifice are generally admitted excellences in Nayar women. The children observe death pollution for the father, and if of the Nayar caste, perform his funeral obsequies, observe *Diksha*, and continue to perform the annual *srādh*. The father is *de facto* the guardian of the wife and children. Though in theory the system of marriage and inheritance still remain unadulterated, in practice, the tendency of the people has been, of late, to rise above the

law. Among the better classes of people the practice of the wife living in her *tharavad* (family) house and being visited there by her husband is becoming all but obsolete. The wife with her children now lives with her husband and is maintained by him in his life-time. He educates his sons and daughters, and makes provision for their after-life to the best of his means. The union of husband and wife is now looked upon as a lifelong one, and not a fugitive one as in former days. It is becoming more and more the fashion to inaugurate a *Sambandham* by the performance, of a regular ceremony. In Malabar the bride is an active party to the contract, and as infant marriage is not insisted on, she may choose to remain unmarried till she attains the age of discretion or may prefer to lead an unmarried life. Even if the guardian arranges the marriage, her consent is essential and almost indispensable, for that forms the basis of the marital contract. Of course there are cases where her wishes are overruled by an imperious *Kárnavan* (senior member). The younger generation of the Nambuthiri Brahmans have also begun to understand that their conjugal relations with Nayar women are improper and *unshastraic*. The *Vedas*, *Smritis* and *Shastras*, have prohibited such alliances.

Some consider that the system of Nayar marriage is the most excellent, and requires no aid of law. Under the Malabar system there are no ill-assorted couples fated to render each other's lives miserable till death. There are no wives tied irrevocably to brutes, no women to whom life is one long imprisonment in the Zanana, no virgin widows, no divorce proceedings and no degraded class of fallen women.

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A Gond Dance, Central Provinces

*From Rai Bahadur Hira Lal*



A Gond Dance, Central Provinces

## V

### SEX AND MARRIAGE—(contd.)

*Forms of Marriage:—Cousin Marriage:—Its origin.*—All Hindu castes and animistic Tribes are mostly divided into exogamous groups. Where the kinship is traced through the male, this organisation tends to prevent a man from marrying the daughter of his father's brother; where it is traced through the female, it prevents him from marrying the daughter of his mother's sister. But the rule of exogamy does not debar him from marrying other near relatives.

In many cases, the proper form of marital connection is that between a young man and his father's sister's daughter or the mother's brother's daughter. This is called cross-cousin marriage. It prevails to a very large extent among many low castes of South India as in other parts of the world. In Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, among people who follow the matrilineal line of inheritance, a young man has a preferential right to marry the daughter of his maternal uncle. This is called the *Murapennu*, i. e., the girl to be married by her father's sister's son. Among all classes of the Hindus conjugal relations between cousins who are the children of two brothers or two sisters are prohibited; while it is considered to be quite a proper form of alliance by the Jews and Muhammadans, among whom it largely prevails.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vols. I and II, Marriage Customs, pp. 407, 488.



Cross-cousin marriage may keep the family together, and prevent dispersion of family property. Hence among the various castes of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, where the inheritance runs through females, this form of marriage is prevailing to a large extent. In the Tamil districts of the Madras presidency, *viz.*, Madura, Tinnevely, Salem, Coimbatore, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, where this form of marital alliance is formed, it is partly intended to curtail heavy bridegrooms' price and other marriage expenses, and partly to prevent the dispersion of family property. On this ground it has found its way among the Brahmans also. With reference to cross-cousin marriage, Mr. Richards observes that "the rule which gives a man the first refusal of his maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter in marriage may be interpreted as a sort of compromise between matrilineal succession and Brahmanic law which lays emphasis on inheritance through males; for it preserves inviolate the matrilineal inheritance under patrilineal forms" (Richards in Man, XIV, pp. 196). There are also instances of marriage between relatives even more closely connected than cousins. They are prescribed by custom. Among the Korachas of Mysore, and the Kappelayans, a Canarese-speaking people, a young man marries his sister's daughter even though older than himself. These customs, though repulsive to Brahmanic ideals, are slowly creeping into some sections of them.<sup>1</sup>

It still remains to be explained why it should be thought desirable for near relatives to marry among themselves. In a primitive state of society, the smaller groups always wish to increase their numbers, and consequently their powers of defence. The marriage of a woman means the loss of one who might have added to the matrilineal numerical

<sup>1</sup> Census of India, 1911, Vol. XXI (Mysore), p. 99.

strength of the groups. It is on this ground that the Baluchistan Tribesman always tries to marry as near a kinswoman as possible, so long as she is outside certain prohibited degrees. There might also be a sentiment in favour of strengthening the bond between near relatives by marrying their children to each other. A similar feeling also exists among friends. Even in civilised society it is not unusual to find friends endeavouring to cement their friendship in this way.<sup>1</sup>

*Marriage by capture.*—This form of marriage was in vogue among the primitive communities in all parts of the world. "Capture of women for wives prevailed among the Semites. In Arabia it was common before Muhammad. Among the Hebrews, members of the military class were allowed to marry foreign women taken in war, contrary to law which forbade intermarriage with the gentiles" (Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, p. 231). Many survivals of this custom are also found in many parts of India. Among the Malayalis, a Tamil-speaking hill tribe in the North Arcot District, the bride is carried off by force, though this is viewed with much disfavour. Among the Mullu Kurambans of Wynad, the man has the option of carrying a girl by force against the wishes of her parents.<sup>2</sup> Among the Gonds a woman is compelled to become one's wife.<sup>3</sup> Similar customs are in vogue among the aboriginal tribes of Chota-Nagpur, Orissa and of the Chittagong hills, as also in various parts of the Malay Archipelago. Marriage by capture has been found to be in vogue among the Aryans also, and according to the laws of Manu, it is one of the eight recognised forms of marriage, called the *Rákshasa* mode.

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, pp. 73-51.

<sup>2</sup> Gopalan Nayar-Wynad, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Hayavadana Rao, *Gonds of the Eastern Ghats*.

"Theory of an early stage of marriage by capture, says Westermarck, has been supported by reference to some very wide-spread customs which have been interpreted as survivals of capture in the past. But these customs do not prove, what they are meant to prove, because they may be much more easily explained otherwise. There are a large number of cases in which sham fighting between the bridegroom and his party and the bride's family, or some other kind of resistance made, forms part of the wedding. An instance of sham fighting that I have come across in the course of my investigations is given below.

Among the Ishuvans, as the bridegroom and the bride step out of the pavilion, they are met by the *Machún* or uncle's son, who prevents the groom from taking possession of her on the score of his better claim to wed her. He is supported to contest her for the hand of the young woman, and his two friends pretend to help him in the fray. The *Machún* is at last prevailed upon to let her depart on receipt of two *fanoms* or nine Annas.

"The seizure of a maiden by force from her house, while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsmen and friends have been slain in battle or wounded and her house has been broken open, is the marriage styled *Rákshasa*." This form is simply the marriage by capture, the existence of which, coupled with the practice of exogamy, has been, by McLennan, traced out in remote ages and regions. Its prevalence seems to have been very much exaggerated by him and his school. This form of marital alliance along with the Ganddharva form was considered lawful for the warrior tribe.<sup>1</sup> The latter was so far an advance beyond the former in this respect that it assumed a state of society in which a friendly, though stealthy

<sup>1</sup> The Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 291.

intercourse, was possible between man and woman before their union, and in which the inclinations of the female were consulted. Both forms admitted of a permanent connection, though there is nothing to show that permanence was a necessary element in their transaction.<sup>1</sup>

Few theories of primitive society have been as much in vogue as that of marriage by capture ; yet few theories have been built on such slender foundations. Its general scientific nature has been proved by Mr. Fison and Dr. Westermarck.

It remains now to examine the formal and connubial nature. The theory that mankind in a general or even any particular section of man ever in normal circumstances were accustomed to obtain their wives by capture from other tribes, may be regarded as exploded. There have been, and are even now sporadic cases of capture of wives from hostile and other tribes, but such cannot be proved to be the rule.

The capture of women was naturally an attendant circumstance of invasion. The marriage by capture so often attributed to the Australian, amounts to the fact that the women for marriage or women to be married according to the peaceful tribal system, is sometimes forcibly taken by the bridegroom for obvious reasons, or, as happens in all ages, elopement takes place. When carefully examined most of the old examples adduced as instances of marriage by capture, turn to be either mere inferences, or cases of connubial and formal capture, and many of McLennan's examples are found to be cases of elopements.

*Marriage by purchase.*—Traces of marriage by capture are found not only among the aboriginal tribes, but sometimes also among the higher classes. Yet as a rule marriage is by purchase. This is the *Arsha* form, which appears to be simply a survival from the *Asura*, "the substantial

price paid for the girl having dwindled down to a gift of slight or nominal value." Another mode of preserving the symbol of sale, while rejecting the reality appears to have been the present of a gift of real value such as a chariot and a hundred cows. It was immediately returned to a giver. This arrangement is said by Apastamba to have been prescribed by the *Vedas* "in order to fulfil the Law". Apparently the ancient law by which the binding form of marriage was a sale, was overlooked.<sup>1</sup> The ultimate compromise, however, which appears to have been the present given by the husband was received by the parents; and this became her dowry. Manu says that money or goods are given to damsels, and their kinsmen receive them not for their own use. It is no sale. It is merely a token of courtesy and affection to the bride.<sup>2</sup> Even in the Talmudic law the purchase of wives appears to be merely symbolical, the bride's price being fixed at a nominal amount.

It has been said, that marriage by purchase arose out of marriage by capture and elopement. Abduction in spite of the resistance of parents was the primary form from which arose the beginning of compensation to escape vengeance. This subsequently grew to the giving of presents. Marriage by consideration is the recognised form of marriage among not only the most civilised races, but also among peoples who have reached the higher degree of culture. Among pastoral people it is said to be very prevalent, while the common aspect of marriage is one of recent growth. Among most of the tribes and castes of South India, the bride price is fixed by custom, but also frequently varies according to circumstances. It is very much influenced "by the rank and wealth of the families as also by beauty, strength, ability and other personal

<sup>1</sup> Āpastamba. II. 6. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Manu III, 24.

qualities of the maiden." The bride-price which is generally given to the father, goes to meet either wholly or partly the expenses of the marriage. A portion of it goes to her mother and maternal uncle. Very often it is spent for the bride's dress and ornaments. Along with the bride price, presents of cloth are given to the parents-in-law at the departure of the bridegroom with the bride from her house. Where bride price is a custom it will be considered disgraceful to a girl and her family, if she were given in marriage for nothing. "Sometimes what is known as marriage by purchase may not be really so, for the bridal gift may be an expression of good-will or respect on the part of the bridegroom. It may be a proof of ability to keep a wife and may serve as a protection to the wife against ill-usage, and to the husband against misbehaviour on the side of the wife."

Marriage by purchase is one of the recognised forms of Vedic marriage. "In Vedic times brides were won by rich presents to their fathers, though a certain discredit would seem to have attached to the sale of daughters." (Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* 1. 482.) Mention is made in the *Mahabharata*, that King Pandu is said to have paid to the King Madra in gold, jewels, elephants, horses and cars and various other articles for the hand of his sister; and the purchase of women was the family practice of Kings.<sup>1</sup>

A somewhat modified form of the *Arsha* consists in preserving the symbol of sale, and returning the gifts immediately after the receipt of them. This form of marriage was more prevalent among the low castes of the Hindus and continues to be even so at present. It was allowed to the Vaisyas and Sudras; but Manu forbade it altogether. He says "that

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck : *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, Chap. XXIII, pp. 393.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahabharata*, 1-113-114.

no father who knows the law must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter, for a man who through avarice takes a gratuity is the seller of the offspring." (Laws of Manu, III. 24). But this form of marriage called *Arsha*, which meant that the bridegroom sent a cow and a bull or two pairs to the bride's father was counted by Manu and other law-givers as one of the legitimate methods of marriage (*Ibid*, III. 29). It was expressly denied that the gift was a gratuity, but it is pretty certain that the *Arsha* form was the survival of marriage by purchase. The practice of gifts to the father-in-law of a hundred cows with a chariot and other articles is borne out by Paraskara, and Sankhayana. In South India, even at present it is in vogue among the high castes and the Sudras, and it is not uncommon to hear of large demands by the girl's parents.<sup>1</sup>

There are also instances of the return of gifts, namely, exchange of presents which is a widespread practice. Very frequently this return of gifts takes the form of dowry given to the bride by her parents and relatives. It may represent a return gift to the bridegroom.<sup>2</sup>

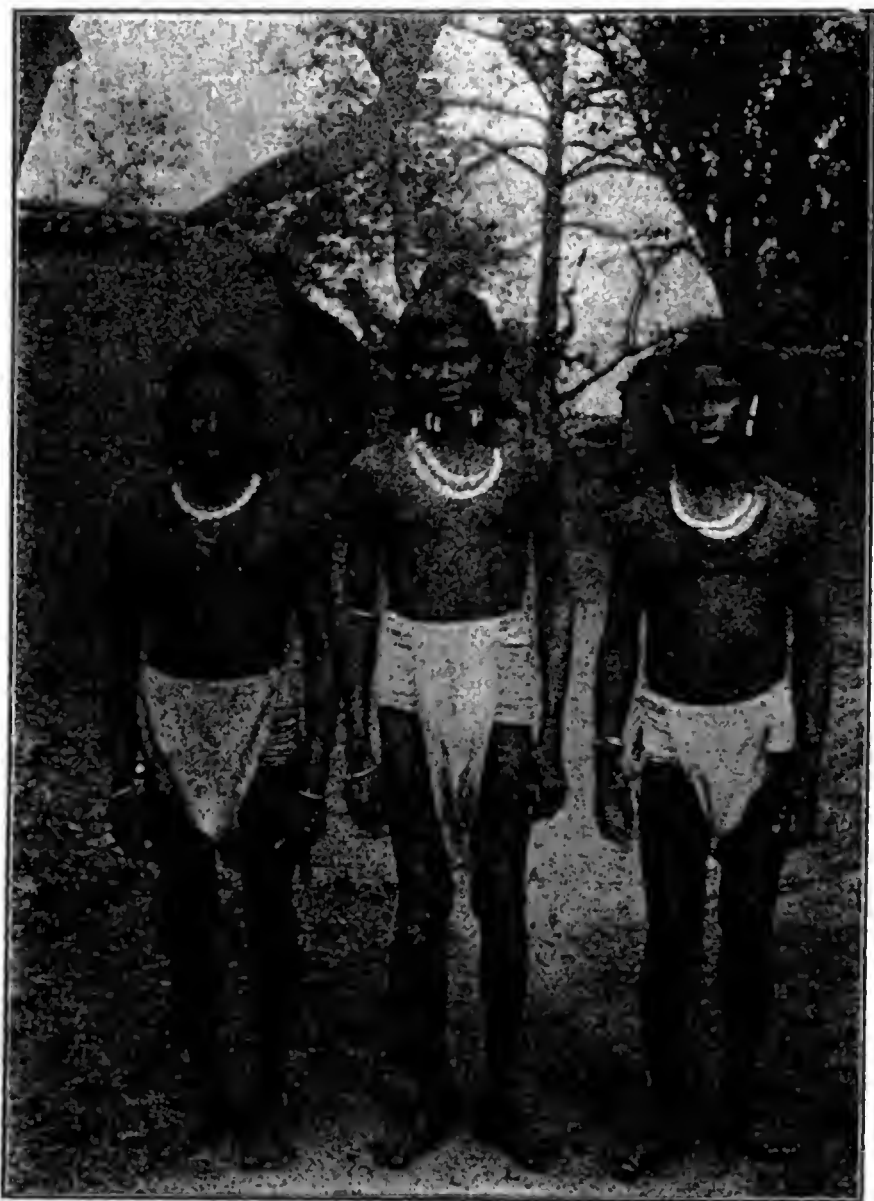
*Marriage by exchange*.—This is, in fact, a modified form of marriage by purchase, in which the bride price is compensated by the offer of a girl in return. The custom is widespread, and the practice of exchanging daughters is very much in vogue "among the tribes of Baluchistan, in Jammu province of Kashmere, the Bhotias of Almora, the low castes of the Madras Presidency."<sup>3</sup> Mr. Ibbetson remarks that in the East of the Punjab the practice is looked upon with disfavour, while the exchange of betrothal is the

<sup>1</sup> & <sup>2</sup> Westermarck: The History of Human Marriage, Chap. XXIII, pp. 409-10., 415.

<sup>3</sup> Westermarck: The History of Human Marriage, Vol. II, Chap. XXIII, pp. 354-59.







Mundas of Chota Nagpur

commonest form among the hill tribes and the submontane districts. Among the Madigas of Mysore, the Dravidian castes as also among the Nambuthiri Brahmans the exchange of sisters or daughters between two families to avoid the bride price is quite common. Thus the practice of bride for bride occurs side by side with the marriage by purchase, as an economic measure to save the bride-price. It is, says Sir James Frazer, quite common among the Australian tribes.<sup>1</sup>

*Marriage by service.*—More widespread than marriage by exchange is the custom of obtaining by services rendered to her father. This practice is found among the many North and South American Indians, Eskimo, Siberian peoples, Ainos of Japan, in a large number of aboriginal tribes in China and India, and in many islands of the Indian Archipelago, in New Britain and in many of the African peoples. The man has to go and live in the family of his future wife for a certain time during which he works for him as a servant. The period of work varies differently among different peoples, sometimes lasting less than a year. It may also last as many as more than ten or fifteen years during which he may or may not get access to the girl. In some cases he may have to live in the family after the marriage or for ever. Marriage by service is only a substitute for marriage by purchase, where the suitor is too poor to pay the bride-price. It is in vogue among the low castes and jungle tribes of the Madras Presidency, Central Provinces and Assam, and this is a development along with the industrial type of society.<sup>2</sup>

*Origin and development of dowry.*—The return gift to the bride by her parents or other relatives may pass

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck: *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, Chap. XIII, pp 401-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

for dowry which directly or indirectly benefits the husband. The practice of giving dowry to daughters prevails among all peoples in the world. It often consists of food, dress, ornaments, goods, money and land. Among Todas the bride may receive from her father a dowry of several buffaloes, necklets, armlets, ear-rings and other ornaments. Among the higher Hindu castes, in addition to dress and ornaments, a girl gets from her parents, domestic utensils, articles of furniture, in fact all those that are necessary to set up a family. Even her first baby has to be furnished with ornaments. All these may be considered to be her share of the family property at her separation from the family after marriage. This view is entertained by the Syrian Christians of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore who give their girls, a portion of their family property as dowry over and above the articles above mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

It is thus looked upon as settlement on provision for the wife from her family. Among the Aryans of the Vedic period dowries were invariably given by fathers or brothers to attract suitable bridegrooms for the marriage of their daughters and sisters. In such cases the husbands appropriated the dowries, and her articles, if any. Even during the Epic period, the women's dowry or property as their own (*Stridhanam*) was slowly recognized. The *Stridhanam* is mentioned by Gautama. It was first described in the Arthasastra and Vishnu, and included all presents from parents, sons, brothers or other relatives, the marriage gifts *Sulka*, or the bride's fee when given to the women by the father. The property fell on her death to her daughters, if any, not to her sons, who according to some authorities shared it with the sisters. In the absence of any issue it belonged to

<sup>1</sup> Anthropology of the Syrian Christians of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, Chap. VIII, pp. 119-124.

her husband, if the marriage, according to one authority was one of the superior forms, as otherwise it went to her father. The Hindu law recognizes the dominion of woman over this property, but the husband has nevertheless power to use it and consume it in times of distress.'

The Jews and Muhammadans provide their daughters with dowries to protect them against widowhood and divorce. "It was established by the Jewish law, that the husband was to make out an obligation in writing which entitled her to receive a share or a certain sum from his estate in the event of his death or divorcement." This obligation was called *kethubah* (the marriage deed) which was a charge on his property. It is said that the regular tests originated by Simon-ben Shatach about 100 B.C.

Among the Muhammadans there was the *mahar* or *sadaq* which though handed over to the bride's father is by Islamic law presumed to be the property of the bride herself. Islam requires the gift of a *sadaq* for the contraction of a valid marriage. A man may legally marry without making mention of *sadaq*, "The law presumes consideration in her favour by virtue of the contract itself." As to the amount of *sadaq* there is no maximum fixed by law, though an excessive amount is considered improper both by the Sunnis and Shiahs.

The general tradition of the Roman *dos* was continued by the church which secured the provision for the wife. The husband could not deprive her of it, and it remained to her even after his death.

An important change has taken place in the gift of dowry to a girl by her father. It becomes a bridegroom's price or the purchase sum by which a father buys a husband for her daughter, as formerly a man bought a

wife from her father. The practice is in vogue among all higher Hindu castes in India. It has been very much enhanced by educational qualifications. While the low castes pay for the bride, the high castes pay for the bridegroom.

*Tree Marriage.*—A third marriage is regarded as unlucky ; and when a man contemplates a matrimonial venture for the third time after the loss of his two wives he often goes through a mock marriage with a sheep, a pigeon or some plant, so that his next wife may be his fourth and not his third. Among Vellalas of Madras this ceremony takes place before a widower marries a second wife. Among the Brahmans of South India, a curious mock marriage ceremony is performed, when an individual takes a third wife. It is believed that a third marriage is always inauspicious, and that the bride becomes a widow. To prevent this mishap, the man is made to form conjugal relations with the *arka* plant (*Calatropis gigantea*), and the real marriage becomes the fourth. The ceremony is carried on in an orthodox fashion, and is generally performed on a Sunday or Monday when the constellation *Astham* is visible. The bridegroom and a Brahman priest accompanied by a third Brahman go to a spot where the *arka* plant is growing. The plant is decorated with a cloth, and piece of string, and it is symbolised by the priest into the Sun. The bridegroom then invokes it thus. "Oh ! master of the three *lokas* (worlds) Oh ! the seven horsed, Oh ! Ravi, avert the evils of the third marriage." Next the plant is addressed with the words "you are the oldest of the plants of this world. Brahma created you to save such of us as have to marry a third time, so please become my wife." The Brahman who accompanies the bridegroom becomes his father-in-law for the time being and says to him, "I give, you in marriage Aditya's great-grand-daughter Ravis

grand-daughter and my daughter *Arka Kanya*." All the ceremonies, such as making *homam* (sacred fire), *tali-tying*, etc., are performed as at a regular marriage, and after the recital of a few Vedic hymns, the plant is cut down.<sup>1</sup>

"Another form of marriage called *rāmbha* or *kathali* (plantain tree) marriage, the *Calotropis* plant is replaced by a plantain tree (*Musa*). It is performed by those who happen to be elder brothers, and who are incapable of getting married, so as to give a chance to younger brothers who are not allowed to marry unless the elder brother or brothers are already married." Mock-marriages are prevalent all over India, the object being to divert the supposed evil influence (to some tree or plant) believed to arise from the third marriage which is considered to be unlucky.<sup>2</sup>

*Group Marriage*.—It is said that, among birds, monogamy frequently prevails, and unions tend to become permanent. There is an approximation to the same condition among some of the higher animals, especially, the Anthropoid apes. Thus among Gorillas and Oran-outangs, permanent monogamic marriages take place, the young sometimes remaining with the parents to the age of six, while any approach to loose behaviour on the part of the wife is severely punished by the husband. The variations that occur are often simply matters of adaptation to circumstances.<sup>3</sup>

In regard to the form of human marriage, there has been for a long time, a dispute among historians. "Some assume a primitive promiscuity gradually modified in the direction of monogamy. Others argue that man began where the Anthropoid apes left off, and that monogamy has prevailed on the whole throughout. Both these opposed views are in the extreme form untenable, and

<sup>1</sup> & <sup>2</sup> Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes* p 46-47

<sup>3</sup> Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. VI, p 422

truth appears to lie midway. Many writers and notably Westermarck, have shown, that there is no evidence in favour of primitive promiscuity, and that now there are few, if any, savage peoples living in genuine unrestricted sexual promiscuity." "The most primitive form of complex human marriage as still in existence, is what is called group marriage, in which all the men of one class are regarded as the actual, or at all events potential husbands of all the women in another class." This is said to have been observed among some Central Australian Tribes—a people as primitive and as secluded from external influence as could be found. There is evidence to show that it was formerly more widespread among them. "In the Urabunna tribe for example," says Spencer and Gillen, "a group of men actually do have, continually and as a normal condition, marital relations with a group of women. This has nothing to do with polygamy, and it is simply a question of a group of men and a group of women who may lawfully have, what we call marital relations. There is nothing whatever abnormal about it, and in all probability, this system of what is called group marriage, serving as it does to bind more or less closely together groups of individuals who are mutually interested in one another's welfare, has been one of the most powerful agents in the early stages of the upward development of the human race." Group marriage with female descent as found in Australia tends to become transformed by various stages of progress into individual marriage with descent in the male line, a survival of group marriage perhaps persisting in the *jus primae noctis*." Mr. N. W. Thomas states, that group marriage in Australia has not been proved. In his "Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas, Professor Westermarck maintains a sceptical opinion about group marriage. He

thinks that the Urubunna custom may have developed out of ordinary individual marriage, and thinks of the group-marriage theory as "the residuary legatee of the old theory of promiscuity."

Durkheim thinks, that the Australian marriage system is not primitive. With the attainment of a certain level of social progress it is easy to see that a wide and complicated system of sexual relationship ceases to have its value, and a more or less qualified monogamy tends to prevail as more in harmony with the claims of social stability and executive masculine energy.

Polygamy.—Marriage of one man with several women was common among the backward races in all parts of the world, the survivals of which may even now be seen in them. "Polygamy," says Westermarck, "is at its height in Africa in point of frequency so far as the number of wives is concerned. Among the Matabele, it is said, that polygamy is the rule, and the average number of a man's wives ranges from two to several hundreds."<sup>1</sup> "The number of wives possessed by the King of Benin has been estimated by different writers at 600, 1000, over 3000 and 4000."<sup>2</sup> Polygamy was recognized and tolerated amongst most people of ancient civilization. It was found to prevail among the Mexicans, Mayas, Chibchas and the Peruvians. The King of Ashantee is said to have had as many as 3333 wives.<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps a mistaken idea to suppose, that in a polygamous society all or most men indulge in a "plurality of wives."

It is the privilege of the rulers, chiefs and the wealthy pastoral and agricultural people to be polygamous on economic grounds. "The Gowndens of the Coimbatore District have several wives who help them in the management of their estates. So also are the Tamil washermen

<sup>1</sup> Deole, *Three years in Savage Africa*, II, p. 160.    <sup>2</sup> Ling Roth *Great Benin*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. III, Chapter XXVII, p. 21.



polygamous to serve their purpose for occupation. Among some of the primitive peoples, all the wives of a polygamous marriage are said to possess equal rights, but the general rule is that one of the wives holds a higher social position than the rest or is "regarded as the principal wife." Polygamy prevails among Nambudiri Brahmins to a certain extent, on mere economic grounds, and it is the senior wife that takes part in the ceremony, while the others merely sit by her side as her help-mates. In point of status, she has precedence over others; and so long as the junior wives allow themselves to be governed by the senior, there is peace and happiness. The moment any partiality is shown to the newly married woman and she takes advantage of it, the former becomes jealous, and her jealousy becomes a perennial source of trouble and discord to her husband. Among the low castes, the wives are located in different buildings. Among the Nambuthiri and other classes where polygamy prevails the junior wives cannot be considered as concubines merely. Their children are equally entitled to the property of the father. At present, there is generally an aversion against polygamy which is resorted to, only when the first wife is either barren or afflicted with an incurable disease. Polygamy prevails among the Buddhists as well. In China, Babylonia, Arabia and India monogamy was the rule, but concubinage also was allowed. Traces of the custom are found among the Aryans among whom monogamy as the only form of marriage was recognized. "If a house-holder," says Apastamba, "has a wife who is willing and able to perform her share of the religious duties, and who bears sons, he shall not take a second,"<sup>1</sup> and in the laws of Manu, there is the peculiar maxim, 'let mutual fidelity continue until death.'<sup>2</sup> The first marriage is always looked upon as sacred, and it was contracted for the discharge of

<sup>1</sup> Apastamba II, 5. 11.12.

<sup>2</sup> Laws of Manu IX, 101.

certain duties or *dharma*s, and not merely for personal gratification. The conjugal pair should be of the same caste.

Hindu law-books do not restrict the number of wives whom a man is permitted to marry. Undoubted cases of polygamy are found in the Rig Veda, and several passages in the Laws of Manu provide for a plurality of wives without any restriction. Tradition shows that polygamy and concubinage were customary among the Jews during the Patriarchal age. Esau married Judith and Nasemeth. Jacob married Leah and Rachael. In later times Solomon is said to have had 700 wives, princesses, and 300 concubines.<sup>1</sup> Rehoboam took 18 wives and three score concubines.<sup>2</sup> According to the Talmud polygamy is permitted no longer though the number of legitimate wives was restricted to four. The Cochin Jews are monogamous. The Koran allows a man to have four legitimate wives, and he may take as many concubines as he likes.<sup>3</sup> The difference in status between a wife and a concubine is not very great. The former has her as her protector, while the latter is defenceless against her husband. Polygamy is very much in vogue among the Jonakan Mappilas of the Cochin State as well as among those of the Ernad and Walluvanad Taluks of South Malabar. It may be said without fear of contradiction, that among them a very large number of people are polygamists having more than two wives, some having even four. The wives all stay with the husband in the same house, and disunion amongst them is a perennial source of uneasiness to him, and frequently leads to divorce. Disparity in age is never considered objectionable. It is evident that Islamism arose amidst the full polygamic regime. Its founder

<sup>1</sup> Klugs. XI, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Chronicles. XI, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Koran. IV, 3.

could not establish any other. Polygamy was therefore established by divine right among the faithful, and at the bottom, it is in accord with the primitive instincts of man. It has also maintained itself in Mussalman countries from the time of Muhammad to our own days. It does not prevail among the Syrian Christians. Though monogamy prevailed and still prevails as the legitimate form of marriage it is curious to note, that Christianity "did not introduce obligatory monogamy into the Western world." It is true that New Testament assumes monogamy as the proper form of marital alliance, but "it does not expressly prohibit polygamy except in the case of a bishop and a deacon." None of the Councils of the Church in the early centuries were opposed to this practice. It was practised by Merovingian kings. Charles the Great had two wives and many concubines. In later times Phillip of Hesse and Frederick William II of Prussia contracted bigamous marriages with the sanction of Lutheran clergy. Both Luther and Melancthon approved of this bigamy and spoke of it with great toleration. It was not forbidden by God, and even Abraham who was a "perfect Christian" had two wives. Certain Christian sects also advocated it with much fervour. The Anabaptists in 1531 preached that all true Christians should have several wives, and the Mormons regard polygamy as a divine institution. On political grounds it was advocated in 1650 after the peace of Westphalia which brought the thirty years' war to an end. Owing to the decimation of the population during the War, the Frankish Kreistag at Nurenberg passed a resolution that thenceforth every man should be allowed to marry two women.<sup>1</sup> There are several reasons why a man

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<sup>1</sup> Westermark—The History of Human Marriage, Vol. III, Chapter XXVII, pp. 50-51.

may desire to possess more than one wife. Monogamy requires from him periodical continence, not only for certain days of the month, but also during the pregnancy of his wife, and as long as she suckles the child. One of the chief causes of polygamy is the attraction which the female youth and beauty exercise upon man. At the lower stages of civilization women become old much sooner than in advanced communities. The liking of men is also a potent factor. Among some the more wives, the more children, the greater power. Among the men of lower culture, manual labour is undertaken largely by women. It then becomes necessary for any man who requires many servants to have many wives. But when female labour is of considerable value, the necessity of paying the purchase sum of a wife is a hindrance to polygamy. It can be overcome only by the wealthier men. There are also certain other factors of a psychological character which are a hindrance to polygamy. Where love depends on external attractions only, it is necessarily fickle. But when it implies sympathy there is a tie between the husband and wife which lasts after youth and beauty are gone. Polygamy is finally checked by the respect in which women are held by men. There is a feeling of ambition in every wife to be the mistress of her husband's house. Where women have obtained mastery over their husbands monogamy is often the result. The notion where monogamy is the only proper form is not immoral is due to the mere force of habit or to the notion that it is wrong of some men to appropriate a plurality of wives. In fact, it is an offence against the female sex. "Polygamy," writes Woods Hutchinson (Contemporary Review, Oct. 1914), "has many solid and weighty considerations in its favour, and has resulted in both human and pre-human times in the production of a very high type of

both individual and social development." He points out that it promotes intelligence, co-operation and division of labour while the keen competition for women weeds out the weaker and less attractive males.

In Malabar, Cochin and Travancore polygamy is now looked upon with much disfavour by the respectable classes. Even the Rajas and chiefs do not, in these days, consort with more than one woman. It may be said in this connection, that while abhorring the idea of a woman having more than one husband, some would allow a man more than one wife; because custom favours it, and the Hindu Law recognizes it. The Malabar Law also has always favoured it. The true reason for it is the utter selfishness of man. Fidelity to one person should not be made a monopoly of the sexes alone, because as Bentham has pointed out, the conjugal obligation is reciprocal. The remark of Lwtourneae with regard to a cognate matter is very apt in this connection. He says—the reason for this revolting partiality is very simple. Diderot makes us tell it in the *Supplement au Voyage de Bonganville*:—"It is the tyranny of man that has converted the possession of woman into property."<sup>1</sup>

After all a monogamic union is better fitted for the cultivation of love, than a polygamic one. It has been long growing in the mind of man, and all his ideas and sentiments associated with marriage testify to the singleness of the union. It is said to be highly favourable to the preservation of life in old age. Polygamy on the other hand has a tendency to impoverish society by imposing on the man of ordinary means a far greater responsibility in the maintenance of children than he can afford.

"Marriage," says Immanuel Kant, "is founded upon the natural reciprocity or intercommunity of the sexes.

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<sup>1</sup> Laterneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, p. 208.

This natural union of the sexes proceeds either according to the mere animal Nature or according to Law. The latter is marriage which is the union of two persons of different sex for lifelong reciprocal possession of sexual faculties." Again, for this natural '*commercium*' as a *usus membrorum sexualium alterius*' is an enjoyment for which one person is given up to the other. In this relation the human individual makes himself a *res* which is contrary to the Right of Humanity in his own person. This however is only possible under the one condition, that one person is acquired by the other as a *res*, that some person also acquires the other reciprocally, and thus regains and re-establishes the rational personality. The acquisition of a part of the human organism being, on account of its unity at the same time, the acquisition of the whole person, it follows that the surrender and acceptance of, or by one sex in relation to the other, is not only permissible under the condition of marriage, but is further only really possible under that condition." For the same reasons the relation of the married persons to each other is a relation of equality as regards the mutual possession of their persons. Consequently marriage is truly realised only in monogamy; for the relation of polygamy the person who is giving on the one side gains only a part of the one to whom that person is given up, and therein becomes a mere *res*.<sup>1</sup>

*Polyandry*.—Polyandry is said to be a rarer form of marital alliance than polygamy. It is said to be in vogue among some of the Indian tribes of South America, some of the tribes in the Continent of Africa and among the Chukchees in the north-eastern extremity of Asia,<sup>2</sup> as also in

<sup>1</sup> The Philosophy of Law, Immanuel Kant, English Translation, pp. 109-111.

<sup>2</sup> Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, Vol. III, Ch. XXIX, pp. 107-109, 150-154, 107-109.

the Alpine countries of the Hindu-Kush, namely, in the Hazara country, Svat, Citral and Kafiristan.<sup>1</sup> In Tibet it has been in existence from a very remote period, and is said to be still very common there. In spite of the prevalence of other forms of marriage, polyandry is said to be the ordinary form of conjugal relationship of the fraternal type. It is always the eldest brother that marries, and he allows his younger brothers to take part in the union. If the former does not marry, while the younger brothers marry, he separates himself from the family, because he feels that he has no claim on the wife of his brother. In certain localities in Tibet, cousins on the father's and mother's sides share in the union instead of the younger brothers. The number of husbands depends upon the number of brothers, and instances of three and five brothers are said to be common. In this type of union all the husbands live together with a single wife as members of the same family. A similar type of polyandry prevails among the people of Tibetan affinities in the Himalayan regions from Kashmir to Assam and in the various parts of the Punjab, where also all the brothers have one joint wife, and all the husbands must be full brothers. The children of the polyandrous marriage recognise all the husbands as fathers, but pay most respect to the eldest of the family. Very often it is the wife that names the father. At the death of the eldest brother, the wife if she likes, can, in the absence of children, rid herself of his brothers, who are secondary husbands, by a simple ceremony. "One of her fingers is attached, with a thread to a finger of her dead husband. The thread is then cut off, which signifies that she is divorced from the corpse, and by this with the surviving brothers."<sup>2</sup>

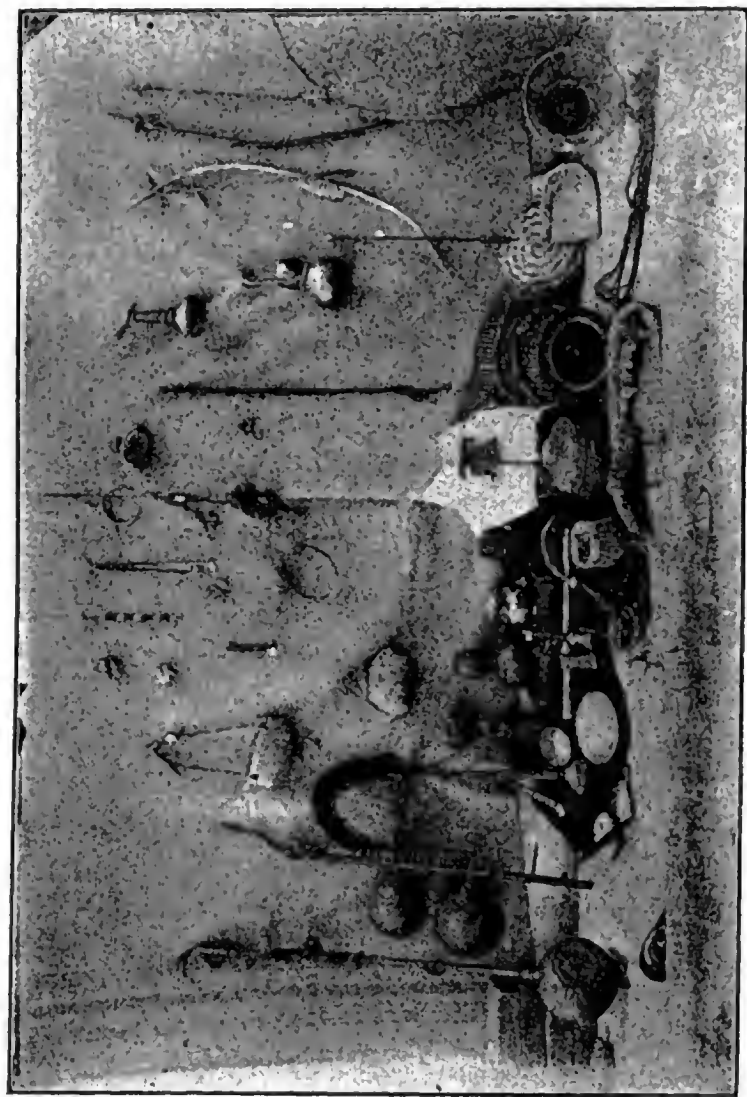
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<sup>1</sup> Alberuni's India, l. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, Vol. III, Ch. XXIX, pp. 112-121.







Musical Instruments and Weapons of the Oraons

*From Rai Bahadur K. C. Roy*

It is not the Himalayan tribes alone that practise fraternal polyandry. Even in the plains of Northern India it prevails to a great extent in a secret manner. It is found to prevail among the hill-tribes of Chota Nagpur as also among the Santals, Bhuiyas, Kandhs, Orans and the Korkus. Besides the tracts mentioned above, Southern India is another great centre of polyandry of the fraternal form, and it is very largely in vogue among the Todas, the jungle Kurumbas, and the Badagas of the Nilgiri hills. When a Toda marries a woman it is understood that she becomes the wife of his brothers who live together. Even a brother subsequently born will be regarded as having a claim to share with his elder brother."<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that no disputes arise among the husbands, and the very notion of such a possibility is flouted by the Toda mind. When the wife becomes pregnant the eldest of her husbands performs the ceremony with a bow and arrow by which legal fatherhood is conventionally established in this tribe, but all the brothers are reckoned the child's fathers. Regarding the polyandry prevailing in Malabar an interesting account is given in the two volumes on the Cochin Tribes and Castes. Among the artisan castes (Kammalans) it is of the fraternal form. The husbands are brothers, and they live with the wife in their family. Among the Kallans of the Madura district, a woman is said to be the wife of two, six, eight, or ten husbands who are all regarded as fathers of her children.<sup>2</sup> Among the Tottiyans also it is customary for their women after marriage to cohabit with their husbands' brothers and near relatives and with their uncles. It is believed, that ill-luck will follow in the event of their refusal, and

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<sup>1</sup> Rivers, *Todas*, pp. 515-516.

<sup>2</sup> Thurston—*Castes and Tribes*, Vol. III, p. 77.

their priests advise them to keep up the custom.<sup>1</sup> "Among the Kunnnavans of the Madura district when an estate is likely to descend to a female in default of male issue, she is forbidden to marry an adult, but goes through the ceremony of marriage with some male child or with a portion of her father's dwelling house, on the understanding that she shall be at liberty to amuse herself with any man of her caste to whom she may take a fancy; and her issue so begotten inherits the property which is thus retained in the family."<sup>2</sup> Again among the Vellalans (Kavundans) of the Coimbatore district, the Reddies of the Tinnevely district, Badagas, and other castes in South India and Kashmir, it has been the common practice for the father of a family to marry for his younger son in his nonage a grown-up girl with a view to be in sexual relation with her. The wife during her husband's minority is allowed to cohabit with his father or paternal aunt's son. Instances of this kind mentioned above are modified forms of polyandry.<sup>3</sup> Generally speaking polyandry in Modern India is confined mostly to Non-Aryan, Tibetan or Dravidian tribes or castes. Traces of this practice appear to have existed among the early Aryans. It was however opposed to Brahminism.

From the foregoing account, it is seen that polyandry has been and is even now practised by a considerable number of tribes all over the world. Very often it is, like polygyny modified in the direction of monogamy. As in the polygamous families, the one first married is the chief wife, so the first husband in polyandrous families is mostly the chief husband. Any other man

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<sup>1</sup> Thurston—*Castes and Tribes*, Vol. V, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> Nelson.—*Op.* II, 35.

Short.—*Hill Ranges of Southern India*.

with whom he shares his wife is spoken of as a secondary husband or as a "deputy" or as an "assistant" who acts as husband and master of the house during the absence of the first husband. After his return he becomes his servant, a "half partner," a "brother in love" or a "connubial companion."

*Probable causes of polyandry.*—There are various causes for the prevalence of polyandry which vary in different countries; and these depend upon the influence of environment. It is said that Tibetan polyandry is due to the scarcity of women in a marriageable state, and to the Lama nunneries absorbing so many of the girls. It is also attributed to the barrenness of the country and the scarcity of cultivable lands. It is also due to the smaller number of women, the paucity of whom is ascribed to infanticide which is believed to exist all over the world. Childlessness sometimes leads to polygamy and polyandry. In Tibet and the Himalayan ranges polygamy prevails in the valleys and polyandry in uplands. Polyandrous unions take place among relatives, and they are formed owing to the poverty of the people and by those who lead pastoral and agricultural lives, the motive being the avoidance of poverty and the preservation of property from division. It is found to be the case in my study of some of the low castes of Cochin, Malabar and Travancore. There is now a tendency to the rapid disappearance of the custom.

Far different from the polyandrous type is that of the Nayers. The husbands are not brothers and do not generally live with the women with whom they consort. Nayar women are generally more independent, and consequently the choice of husbands rests more with them. Hence female inclinations have played no insignificant part in the history of polyandry. It is often said that the Nambuthiris brought it about, to accommodate

their domestic habits. Some opine that polyandry is perhaps the survival of a system of fraternal type and some traces are lingering in certain parts of Travancore, where poor Nayar women are kept by three or four members, each defraying a portion of the expenses for their maintenance. The popular belief that Nambuthiris introduced it for their benefit is not tenable. It is very likely that they have taken advantage of the custom prevailing in the country when they came to Malabar. Their influence on the sexual relations with Nayars has been and is even now very great. Very likely the latter must have brought it when they entered into Malabar after their separation from their other fellow Dravidians of the east coast, or from the north as an early division of the Newars of Nepal, or they adopted it from the aborigines in whose midst they settled. Lewis More<sup>1</sup> says that the Nayars entered Malabar under a military organisation long before Nambuthiris were heard of in Malabar.<sup>1</sup> It is very probable that this organisation has had something to do with their polyandrous habits. Concerning this "Lopez de Castanheda writes that the law interdicting them to marry was established by their kings that they might have neither wives nor children on whom to fix their love and attachment, and that being free from all family cares they might more willingly devote themselves to warlike service."<sup>2</sup> Further as in Europe so in Malabar laws were passed preventing soldiers from marrying. While the artisan and a few other occupational castes had the fraternal type of polyandry, the Nayars owing to their military life and long absence from home could not adopt it. In this connection it may be of interest to quote the theory of Dusing which accounts

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<sup>1</sup> Lewis Moore, *Malabar Law and Custom*.

<sup>2</sup> Lopez de Castanheda, *op. cit.*, l. 48.

for the origin of the custom. "The characters of animals and plants which influence the formation of sex, says Dusing, are due to natural selection. In every species the proportion between the sexes has a tendency to keep constant, but the organisms are so well adapted to the conditions of life that under anomalous circumstances, they produce more individuals of that sex of which there is the greatest need. When nourishment produces abundant strength, reproduction is an advantage to the species, whereas the reverse is the case when nourishment is scarce. Hence the power of multiplication depending upon the number of female organisms, when unusually well nourished, produce comparatively more offspring, in the opposite case more male."<sup>2</sup> There are facts about the polyandrous peoples which seem to agree with the theory above advanced. The disproportion in the number of males and females appears to be greatest in the poorest part of the country where the population is the thinnest, and it is most difficult to support life, and smallest where there is the least want. Where food is abundant females exceed the males, and there is striking coincidence of polyandry with the poverty of the people in countries where it prevails, and if it is due to an excess of males, it may be supposed that this excess is due to the scarcity of nourishment. Another inference from the theory is that incest is less common in proportion to the increase of males who go far to find mates. Further incest is injurious to the species. Incestuous unions have a tendency to produce an excess of male offspring. This is proved among the Jews, many of whom marry cousins."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Westermarck : *The History of Human Marriage*, Chap. XXX, pp. 169-170.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* pp. 170-180.

*Exchange of Wives.*—Before leaving the subject of polyandry it may be found interesting to refer to customs bearing on the temporary exchange of wives. Men sometimes used to waive their marital rights in favour of others. The custom is said to proceed from the proprietary claim of a man to his wife's favours which he may yield to his comrade as a token of friendship or to a superior to gain some purpose. As a matter of simple hospitality the custom is reported from all parts of the globe.<sup>1</sup> Both the lending of wives to visitors and the exchange of them are said to be survivals of ancient promiscuity. Among certain tribes in Africa, an exchange of wives may take place for the sake of enjoyment, while among the Eskimo it is intended for practical reasons. In some cases anger or disgust is the motive for the exchange.

Closely connected with the custom described above is that of mortgaging wives by the Dombar, Kākkalan and a few other low castes or tribes in South India. The woman mortgaged remains with the man until the amount is paid up, and then joins her husband. Very often she feels herself happy in her new surroundings, and refuses to go back to her husband, when the bride-price is returned to him.

*Levirate.*—It is the name given to the obligation imposed by custom or law on the brother of the deceased husband to marry his sister-in-law after the death of her husband. The custom is very widespread among most of the races of the world. It has been thought peculiar to the Jews, and is twice alluded to in the Bible. It is a sort of obligatory and fictitious adoption of a nephew by the deceased uncle. Among the Hebrews it was the duty of a man to marry his brother's widow if he died childless, and

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<sup>1</sup> Lowie: Primitive Society, p. 46.

the first born should succeed in his brother's name in order that his name might not be put out of Israel.<sup>1</sup> It was rather a moral than a legal obligation, and a widow's brother-in-law could not refuse it; for in that case he had to submit to a degrading ceremony.<sup>2</sup> The code of Manu imposes the levirate even on the brother of a betrothed man who dies. It is said that when the husband of a young girl dies, the brother of her husband may take her for wife. The object of this legal precept is to give posterity to the deceased brother, by furnishing him with a son who could perform for him the offering of the manes. There is however a limit to the duration of co-habitation with the widowed fiancée and all connections are to cease after the first pregnancy. In the Jewish levirate, as compared with the Hindu, one has only an earthly object of keeping up the name or the family of the deceased and all that belonged to it. The custom is still in vogue in many of the low castes in all parts of India. Among the Izhuvans, Thandáns, Válan's, Pánans, Kaniyáns, Pulayans and Parayans the custom still prevails. The women after the death of their husbands mate with the brothers-in-law next to them.

The levirate is a widespread custom, and some sociologists opine that it was a remnant of polyandry, and that it was practised under a polyandric regime. But polyandry was more than an exceptional mode of marriage among the Hindus, and other nations. Where women were regarded as property they were, of course, inherited like other property or possessions. In many cases the brother or in default of him, the nearest relative, was expressly stated to have the widow; and if he did

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<sup>1</sup> Deuteronomy, XXV. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, XXVIII, p. 8.



not marry her, he had the guardianship over her. He might also give her away or sell her to anybody.

Judging from the state of affairs among the low castes in whose midst the custom of levirate prevails, it must be said, that owing to the absence of anything in the shape of property the woman with her children, if any, after the death of her husband, comes under the protection of the next junior brother who assumes the status of a husband to the woman and father to her children. In no case is the wife of a younger brother treated as such by the elder brother, for she is looked upon as sister, and therefore to mate with her is incest. There is, at present, a tendency to the decline of the custom in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, as also in some of the southern, districts of the Madras Presidency owing to the fear of procreation and the difficulty of maintaining children. Instances are found of women preferring to be alone, and either going back to her parents or living in the family of their husbands maintaining themselves with the sweat of their own labour.

*Sororate.*—It is defined as a form of marital alliance in which "several sisters in a family are all regarded as the wives of the man who marries the eldest of them." "Frazer argues that as levirate points to the marriage of women to a group of brothers, so the sororate points to the marriage of men to a group of sisters." When the two customs are taken together, they point to the prevalence of marriage between a group of husbands as brothers, and a group of wives as sisters. But the sororate says Westermarck, can be explained as the result of existing conditions so that there is no necessity to consider it as the "survival of a hypothetical marriage system in the past." Frazer thinks that the two customs are found among the same people, and they also preserve the relationship between the two families. He tries to show

that they are finally traceable to a common source in a form of group marriage. Morgan also says, that it is a relic of group marriage. The arguments for its former existence are not yet proved, and may therefore be rejected as unsatisfactory.

*Adultery and Divorce.*—It is in regard to adultery that the cruelty and injustice of men are mostly and strongly shown. As for the adultery of the husband, men have been all along very slow in admitting that it was a wrong of which the wife might complain. The reason of this revolting partiality was very simple. Diderot says that the tyranny of man has converted the possession of a woman into property. In all legislations she is looked upon as the property of the husband.<sup>1</sup>

Among high caste Hindus, a man sometimes repudiates his wife on the slightest provocation and marries again; but custom or law has limited his power to dispose of her by divorce under certain conditions. The chief offence for which a wife can be divorced is adultery. There are also other reasons for divorce:—barrenness, lasciviousness, loquacity, thievishness and inveterate infirmity. According to the law of Manu, a wife who drinks a spirituous liquor, or is of bad conduct, rebellious, mischievous or wasteful, may at any time be superseded by another after divorce. Divorces are common among the lower castes, but not so among the higher. Among Brahmans cases of adultery are condemned. The woman and her paramours are generally outcasted. Among the Sudras and other low castes, when a woman is charged with criminal intimacy with a member of a lower one, she is generally placed under a ban, and is eventually outcasted; but if it is with a member of the same caste, the woman is severely

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<sup>1</sup> Lowie: *Primitive Society*, pp. 17-18.

Westermarck. *The History of Human Marriage*, pp. 94-97, 263-265.

punished to prevent her from resorting to similar acts. She is very often confounded with things possessed. To use her therefore without the permission of the owner is a theft, to which societies have never been tender. In adultery, the object of larceny, the wife, is a sentient and thinking being, *i.e.*, an accomplice in the attempt of her husband's property in her own possession. The husband has her in his own keeping. He can chastise her freely and satisfy his rage on her without any plea being raised in his defence. When the latter does not take on herself the punishment of the guilty one, the husband will always have public opinion and law on his side. It is also understood, that the adultery of the husband ought not to trouble the wife at all. The husband may be blameworthy and the wife should not take notice of it. The adultery of the woman is naturally quite another thing. The Code of Manu gives us complete information in regard to the penalty in Ancient India."<sup>1</sup> "To pay little attentions to a woman, to send her flowers and perfumes, to frolic with her on the same couch are considered by wise men as proof of adultery." The adulterer is either heavily fined or excommunicated. In the absence of serious reasons, the husband has the right to divorce his wife at his pleasure. It is said to be the central thought in the entire system of Jewish divorce law. There are two restrictions in the Deuteronomic Code—"the husband shall not put his wife away all his days, if he has falsely accused her of ante-nuptial incontinence or if he has ravished her before marriage."<sup>2</sup> To these were added other restrictions<sup>3</sup> preventing the Jews from divorcing their wives. But the Jewish law has never given a Jewish wife the right to

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<sup>1</sup> Code of Manu, Chap. V, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Deuteronomy : XXII, 13, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Amram : Jewish Law of Divorce, p. 45.

divorce her husband. The Muhannmadan law allowed a husband to divorce his wife in the eye of religion or the law. If he abandons his wife or puts her away from simple caprice, he draws down upon himself the divine anger, for the curse of God is upon him, who repudiates his wife capriciously. Practically the follower of Islam may say without assigning any reason, "Thou art divorced," and she must return to her parents or friends. Among Christians the indissoluble nature of marriage was early indicated by the Christian fathers in accordance with the injunction "What God has joined together, thou shalt not put asunder"? came in full force by degrees.

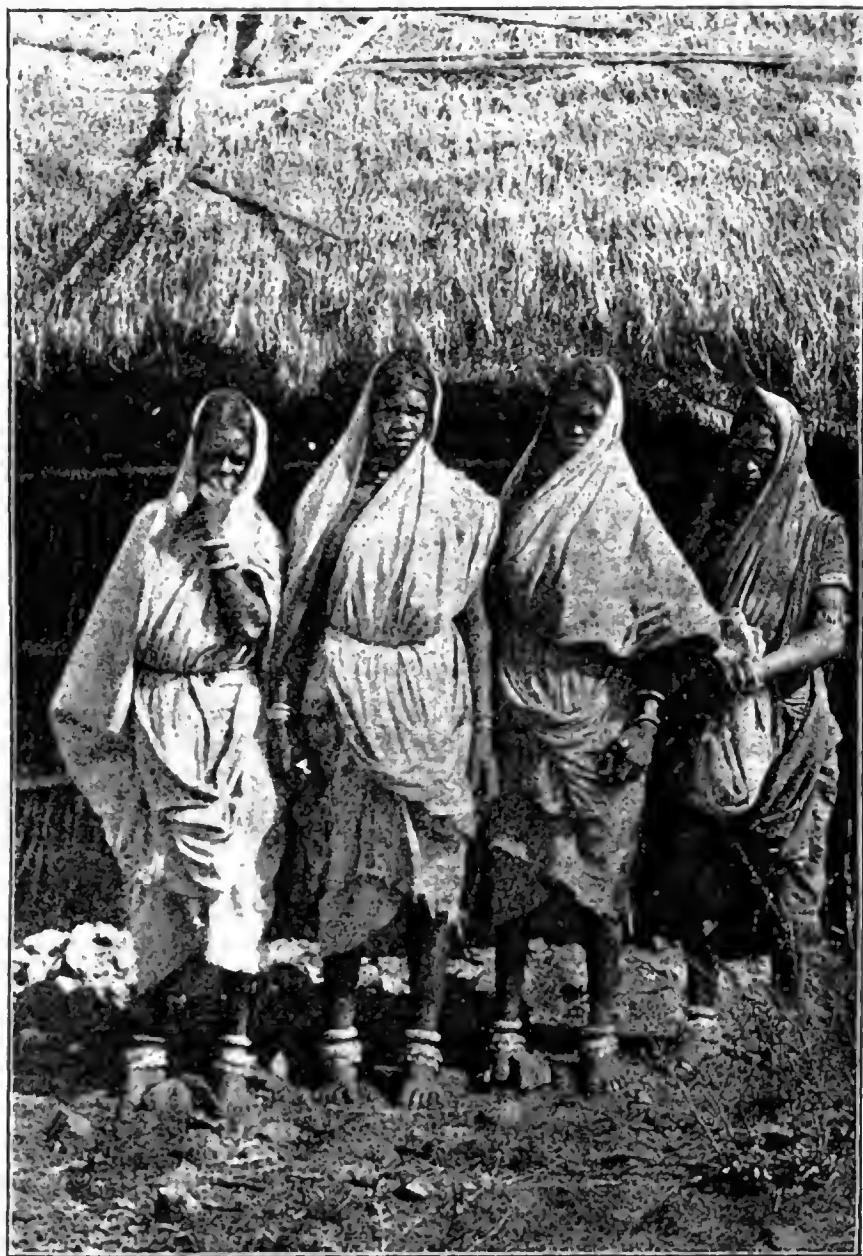
*Tali or Marraige Badge.*—The most essential rite in all or most of the forms of Hindu marriage in South India is the tying of the *tali*, or marriage badge as the symbol of marriage. The practice is to a certain extent unknown in Northern India. Married girls and women wear ornaments such as nose-rings, ear-rings, nose screws, necklets, bangles, leglets; but these are not the real symbols of marriage. The *tali* indicates the permanent union that is established between the bride and the bridegroom. The use of the *tali* is peculiar to South India, and holds a place analogous to the use of bangles in Bengal, to the nose-screw in Sind or to that of the ring in European marriage. This custom of the use of the *táli* has no reference in early times to the Vedic form of marriage now prevailing among the Brahmans and other higher castes. Among the Nambuthiri Brahmans it is the father that ties the *táli* attached to a string at a certain stage of the marriage ceremony. Among the Nayars and their various sub-castes, the *táli-tier* may be the father (in North Malabar), a Tirumulpad, a young man of the same caste or sometimes the mother of the girl herself. In other castes it is always the husband that ties the *táli*. This

symbol of marriage is worn by married women during their whole life-time, and is removed only after the death of their husbands. The indispensable use of the *táli* tied to a string and worn round the neck of the bride reminds one of the ancient systems of marriage by purchase in form, if not in substance. It is curious to note that even the Syrian and other Caste Christians and the Jonakan Mappilas use it at the time of marriage.

Among the Teutonic peoples, as among the early English, marriage was a private transaction which took the form of a sale of the bride by her father or other legal guardian to the bridegroom. The *bewildung* was a real contract of sale, *i.e.*, sale-marriage. The ring was not originally, as some have supposed, a mark of servitude, but rather a form of bride price or *arha*, that is to say, earnest money on the contract of marriage and so the symbol of it. The sale of the bride of which Tacitus speaks was not strictly the sale of the chattel of a slave girl, but merely the transfer of her protectionship to some young man.

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Gond Women, Central Provinces

*From Rai Bahadur Hira Lal*

## VI

### FAMILY KINSHIP : AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

*Primitive Family.*—It is said that in very early times, the human race must have lived in a state of promiscuity. The primitive ancestors used to wander through the forests in small hordes, including the father, the wife or wives, and the children, forming collectively a temporary association under a kind of paternal authority. With the development of the intelligence and social instincts of these primitive hordes, larger ones composed of several families began to exist. For everywhere union was strength. In these rudimentary societies promiscuity naturally became the rule. At present in many *Australian* tribes the elderly men have a possessive right over the women of their group. In societies thus established it was impossible that the children should have a father. They belonged to the community. The family emerged from this state. It was probable that this was chiefly woman's work. It is an ordinary law common among mammalia that the female should have, for the young, stronger affectionate instincts than it is possible in the male kind. In the horde, children had no fathers, but they had mothers who for several years nursed them, and gave them suck, and by degrees allowed them to go their own way. Feminine filiation began to assert itself, and to become customary, children inherited movable property from their mother, and man's inheritance went to his uterine nephews.

As the moral and intellectual strength began to develop the geneise instinct became less and less. The feeling



of love began to assert itself, and he became attached to one female rather than to another. He began to think of his genealogy and descent, and wished to possess one or more wives captured or bought after the tribal fashion. He looked upon his wife and children as his own property. The children were named after their mother, and were afterwards considered as belonging to the group. Finally male filiation began to show itself. Man then thought of collateral relations, noted the different degrees of consanguinity which he designated with different names, and this depended upon the intelligence of his race and the richness of his language. Small consanguineous societies grew up. Clans arose. People having the same interest began to live together under the same roof. In this social aspect his place of refuge was in the family, to which everything was subordinate to its welfare, and family egoism became a virtue.<sup>1</sup>

In the account given above it is seen that the family has evolved from a state of chaos; but the data on which this view was based did not appear to be quite reliable. In the first place the theory of group marriage propounded by Lorimer Fison was the result of the study of a tribe of aborigines in South Australia. He describes the tribes of having been divided into two classes the members of which are reciprocally on marital relations. This account has been adduced as evidence at a time when marital relationship between men and women was one of promiscuity, and therefore there was no family at all. When we turn to recent writers we find them citing Australian aborigines among whom the system of group marriage does not prevail. In support of this view that the family is found in the lowest stage of social life Gross quotes the evidence of another

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck's. *The History of Human Marriage*: Vol. I, Chap. IV-VI.

<sup>2</sup> Godfrey. *Science of Sex*.

witness about the non-existence of the community of wives among the Australians. Professor Howard in summing up the discussion considers that group marriage is by no means established, and that communal or even marriage has ever prevailed among the Australian aborigines. It may be possible that the relation between the two groups noticed by Fison is simply that the members of one class may not marry among themselves, but only among those of the other class, a very different matter from freedom to marry all the members of the other. There appears to have been in this connection, some misunderstanding and misinterpretation of facts which are difficult to avoid. Further the account of the backward races at the present day are those handed down to us by writers of the past. Their facts may be liable to errors arising from inaccurate observations and wrong judgments. An observer may naturally be struck by phenomena which are curious and novel to himself, and many may mistake an observation for a custom. The theory advanced above has had many supporters, the chief among whom were McChellan, Morgan, Lord Avebury, McLennan and others who maintained that the family as such did not exist.

*Evolution of mother right.*—A well-known Swiss writer Bachofen published a book on *Mutterrecht*. He drew his materials mainly from two sources namely the fragmentary notices of kinship, and matriarchal customs of various peoples by various writers, supplemented by similar accounts of modern travellers. He used these materials and concluded that the original family was matriarchal. In the beginning there was only chaos. The first element of order was introduced by women who imposed their rule on men. She was able to do this by mystery of religion, and thus the matriarchal family arose in which women were leaders and rulers. This continued until women

grew too haughty to wed, when men rebelled, and reasserted their power. Thus arose the patriarchal family. These statements represent a universal culture stage through which all people pass in the development of their social life when human society did not exist

Since the publication of this theory much has been written both in confirmation and in criticism of it. The two chief points in this connection are whether there was no organisation of society into families, to what extent the position of women in the earlier type of family was similar to that of men in patriarchal families. When we take the latter point into consideration a certain school of writers has been very enthusiastic in support of a theory of a golden era for women, when there was not only a matriarchate for women, but even a gynocracy when women not only ruled in the family but also among the people. Freik Engels maintained that women had a far higher position then than in the present civilization. Certain writers, on the contrary, find no reason to suppose that there has been any general stage in human development where women's position was that of supremacy. All actual evidence as distinct from mere inference points to the fact that amongst peoples in an earlier stage of development position of women approaches that of slavery, but the reason which led to the hypothesis of maternal family is the discovery among certain peoples at a certain stage of the development of relationship founded only through the mother and not from the father. It is perhaps natural, that with the analogy of the Roman fathers before their minds, the earlier students "should" have assumed rather hastily that this system of maternal kinship carried with it a system of supremacy in the family. That they should have further assumed a supremacy in the family is perhaps less excusable. There are a few tribes, namely, the Hurons and the Iroquis of North

America, the Nayars of Malabar among whom women appear to guide and rule to a very remarkable degree. Schoolcraft, an able writer, represents the position in a much milder light.

With a few exceptions, the rule appears to be that man is an undisputed master of both his wife and children. No matter whether the latter are called by his name or the mother's, and still more he is the ruler in the tribe. Within the family the authority rests with the father. In so far as the matriarchal family is said to co-exist with the system of kinship through the mother, and at the earliest stage of development the father was still supreme. Generally speaking, it is a power based upon the superior physical strength of man, and therefore incapable of organising the patriarchal family in its fullest form. It seems merely to preclude the possibility of a patriarchal family. Among peoples of the earliest type of the lower hunters, her lot appears to be the worst of all. Her emancipation comes slowly with the development of the race, upon the increasing value of her services, her increasing capacity for economic independence, and upon the influence of religion and culture. There is therefore sufficient reason to suppose the theory that the patriarchal was preceded by a matriarchal family. What probably existed was a less organised form of patriarchal family co-existing with a system of relationship through the mothers. The theory of promiscuity when first published was accepted by sociologists. It has been subjected to a detailed criticism by Westermarck, and his conclusion is that there is no evidence for the notion that promiscuity ever found a general stage in the social history of mankind. This hypothesis of promiscuity has no real foundation, and is therefore unscientific.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck: *The History of Human Marriage*. Vol. I, Chap. VII, p. 273-274.

The orangutan, the gorilla, the chimpanzee all live in pairs with their young assembling in numbers at times more especially when food is plentiful, but for the most part wandering in solitary families. It is most probable that our fruit-eating human or half human ancestors lived on the same kind of food and required about the same quantities as the manlike apes. It is likely that when man became partly carnivorous and generally continued this solitary kind of life, gregariousness became his habit, only in part. Animal of the predatory kind, says Spencer, profits by living alone especially if its prey is much scattered, and is secured by stealthy approach or by living in ambush. Gregariousness would here be an advantage. It is very probable that even now there are savage peoples who live rather in separate families than in tribes, and most of these peoples belong to the rudest races in the world.

*Matriarchal Family.*—The maternal system of descent is found in all parts of the world where social advance stands at a certain level, and the evidence warrants the assumption that every group which advances to a culture state passes through this stage. Traces of this maternal system are everywhere found in the American continent and in other regions where it is still found to be in force. With a few exceptions descent was formerly reckoned in the female line, and the usage still survives in some regions. In the Malayan Archipelago the same system is still found to prevail. The children belong to the mother's family, the husbands being only strangers, and all blood relationship is reckoned through the mothers as the real transmitter of the family, the husband being only a visitor. For his heirs are not his own children, but the children of his sister, his brothers and other uterine relations. They are the natural heirs of the mother only. In Africa also descent through females is the rule though there are exceptions. Traces of this system are found in China and Japan, and it is still in force in some parts of India. Among the Khasias of Assam and other tribes the husband resides in the house of his wife.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas. *Sex and Society*, pp. 55-62.

All ethnologists admit of the descent through females as having been very widely spread, but some deny the prevalence of such a custom at any stage of culture. But uncertainty of parentage has not been fully explained. It is due, says Thomas, to the larger social fact including the larger biological one. The bond between the mother and child is closest in nature and grew up about the stationary female, and therefore the questions of maternal descent and promiscuity are by no means inseparable as has been assumed. Sir Henry Maine remarks that paternity is a matter of inference as opposed to maternity, which is a matter of observation. He does not include that society would have been patriarchal in organization, even if paternity had been also a matter of observation. The association of woman with the child is immediate, but the immediate interest of the man is in woman through the power of sexual attractiveness, and his interest in the child is secondary and mediate through her. This relation is a constant one, and has it in the child nature of sex, rather than the uncertainty of parentage. It may therefore be concluded that the so-called mother-right has everywhere preceded father-right, and was the source from which the latter was evolved.<sup>1</sup>

It is natural that the children and the group should grow up around the mother. But it is not conceivable that the woman should definitely or long control the activities of society especially on the mother side. In virtue of his superior power of making movements and applying force, the male must inevitably assume control of the life and direction of the group no matter what the genesis of the group may be. There has never been a movement in the history of society when the law of might tempered by sexual affinity did not prevail. A sharp distinction must really be recognized between the law of descent and the fact of authority.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas. *Sex and Society*, pp. 65-67.

<sup>2</sup> Morgan, *The Ancient Family*, Chap. I, pp. 383-400.

Organization cannot proceed very far in the absence of any social mass, and the collection of social mass took place unconsciously about the females as a universal preliminary of the unconscious synthetization of the mass through males. In the prematernal stage the male force was present and was the carrier of social will. In the fully maternal system in the matriarchal and patriarchal stages the male force, *i.e.*, the male authority, is only veiled. Filiation through female descent precedes filiation through achievement, because it is a function of somatic condition mainly, while filiation through achievement is a function of his social conditions. This advantage of maternal organization in point of time embarrasses and obscures the individuals, and collective expression of the male force; but under the veil of female nomenclature, and in the midst of female organization we can always detect the presence of male authority. We therefore find an expression of social respect for women under the maternal system, suggestion of chivalry, even a formal elevation to authority in groups where the actual control is in the hands of women. Through the father the sense of kinship and interest in his children was originally feeble, it increased with the consciousness in connection with various activities and at the point in the social development when the chieftainship is hereditary in the clan, personal property is recognized which the father realizes. The awkwardness of the social system which reckons his children as members of another clan, forces him to bequeath his rank and possession to his sisters' children rather than to his own children. The ancient Egyptians and the Nayars of Malabar avoided their unpleasant condition by giving their property to their children during their own life-time.

*Father in a subordinate position.*—In a matriarchal family the father is generally a visitor in the family of his wife. His duties towards his wife and children are not as obligatory as those of the father in a patriarchal family. He is responsible only for the customary gifts to his wife on festival days in the course of the year. This is the state of affairs in a large majority of the middle and lower classes, while in the higher and educated classes, fathers take their wives and children to reside with them and support

<sup>1</sup> Thomas. *Sex and Society*, pp. 69-70.

them as those in a patriarchal family. They give to their wives and children decent houses for their residence and educate the children. Education, culture and the recent legislations in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore are producing their marked effects among those whose descent is in the matrilineal line. There is a growing tendency among them to reach the status of a patriarchal family.

*Evolution of father right.*—It is said that the evolution of human society depends not on weakness but on strength and prowess of humanity. The impulse for mastery by virtue of physical superiority has at all times asserted itself. Thus side by side with marriages in which the husband resided with or visited the wife, arose the practice of keeping one or more captive women in his own house and for his own necessity. She was obtained by elopement, by capture, by exchange or by payment of what is called the bride price. In any one of these ways or by a combination of any two of them marriages were entered into in various parts of the world. A bride price is perhaps the most useful incident of marriage, and is found even among peoples where the husband goes to reside with the bride and her kin. The tie of blood with the mother is recognised. With the father it is ignored however notorious the paternity may be. Further the affection of father for his children is by no means dependent on the reckoning of kinship. On the contrary it quite commonly precedes it. Where the father is the head of the household, a large measure of power over the children is in his hands even before his kinship with them is legally recognized ; but it is liable to be largely modified by the rights of the mother's kin. Paternal affection, the impulse to domineer, and the greed of undivided power of more complete ownership, such as could be involved, the children would equally lead to the desire of more complete ownership such as would be



involved in counting them to the father's stock instead of the mother's. Self-interest of a more material kind would also concur. Self-interest of the individual father would lead him to increase wealth and consolidate his influence. The point that needs to be insisted on is, that the bond of continual association founded on daily contact and the authority of the head of the family, and of the local elders and of chiefs, is sufficient in itself to give that sense of union and security which the legal tie of kinship carries. The ultimate tendency of residence by the wife at the husband's home would be in the direction of patrilineal reckoning. Further in the progress of culture, property of one of kind or another tends to accumulate. The children of a man who owned property would during his time share in its advantages. On the occasion of his death, religion would require much of it to be destroyed or abandoned to the deceased. Under mother-right the children had the mortification to see what remained passed away from them to their father's relations. Even under mother right the father begins to take care of his children in this respect by bestowing on them substantial gifts in his life. It has been said that, while mother right is founded on blood, father right has its origin on quite a different consideration. Kindred with the father is the first and foremost juridical and social convention. Many Dravidian tribes of India change the reckoning of kinship from mother-right to father-right under the influence of Brahminism. Thus the payment of bride price ensures the bridegroom not only the custody of his wife and children, but also transfers the children to his stock. The conclusion therefore seems irresistible that father right is traceable not to any change in savage or barbarous relationship, but to social and economic causes of the kind already mentioned.

*The Patriarchal family.*—The typical patriarchal family is, from a study of ancient law, derived or assumed

to be original and primitive, and from this are derived both the later developments of the family, the organization of the state, and the power of kings. The essential idea is the supremacy of the father in the family, and our modern institution differs mainly in the typical patriarchal family in greater or less degree in which their power is limited. The limitations are imposed partly by law and partly by custom. They differ very greatly among different peoples at the present day. A man's Power may be absolute over his children, but limited to one generation, or even to the early age of that generation. If we take into consideration the fact of ancestor worship still in vogue among some peoples, it is clear to a large extent that even after death, his power continues over the generations of the living.

Sir Henry Maine and other writers have understood from structure the primitive form, and refer to the Roman family in the day when the *Patria potestas* of the father was absolute. Though the patriarchal family is large as it includes all living generations, it is limited within its kinship only to descendants through males. A woman after her marriage passed out of her original family into that of her husband's and became subject to the power ruling therein. The essential characteristics of the patriarchal family is the permanent power of the father over the adult members of the family, and the source of this power and the reason which enabled him to maintain it, have given rise to much speculation and research. It is easy to attribute the authority of the father over wife and child to the superior strength of man, so long as children remain young and weak. But when we find the authority still attaching to a decrepit old man whose sons and grandsons are in the prime of life, and when his power over his wife continues his intellect and spirit indicated that some deeper foundation than that of strength is

necessary. Again it may be said that as progenitor, the father is also the possessor of his children, and his power is derived from the rights of a proprietor over his property.

Undoubtedly children were regarded almost as property. But the same power over his wife and children by adoption could not be regarded as property for the same reason.<sup>1</sup> Another reason adduced for the authority of the head of the family is the superior wisdom and accumulated experience which has entitled him to be the most capable of conducting its affairs and ruling its members. Probably, this cause counted much more in the days when wisdom, experience, and even knowledge were really matters of private property, which could only be passed on orally from one generation to another. Family tradition is also of great importance. The head of the family retains the peculiar dignity which he enjoys as the main living storehouse of tradition and personal recollection. Amongst people whose main or sole religion is ancestor worship, the dignity and authority are reinforced by the whole weight of religious sanction; and it is to the fact of ancestor worship that scholars attribute the absolute power possessed by the father in the patriarchal family. He alone knew the traditional cult by which the departed ancestors were to be worshipped and appeased. He alone could pass it on to his eldest son and so ensured the continued prosperity of the family. Thus, any fellow of the family who failed to discharge his duties not only debarred himself from the favour and protection of the ancestral God during life, but also condemned himself to miseries in the world of spirits where he could be excluded from the family cult.<sup>1</sup>

In the patriarchal family of the Aryans, the worship of ancestors, and of the domestic hearth preceded that of any other divinity. The foundation of this religion, was the belief in immortality. The spirits of the dead lived again as the shadow of a life in another world from which they exercised their power for good or evil upon the fortunes of those who continued to be the members of the family not only for actual food and drink, but also for the cult which ensured their blessedness. They were Gods so long as due offerings were made to them, failing which, they became wandering spirits to torment the living. The worship, so essential to the living and the dead, could be

<sup>1</sup>. Hellen Bosanquet, *The Family*, Chap. I, pp. 15-20.

offered only by direct descendants of the dead; because they alone knew the necessary ritual. Every family had its own peculiar cult to which no stranger was admitted. It was handed from father to son from generation to generation, and could not be lost without condemning the whole series of ancestors to eternal misery. Therefore it was a sacred duty to ensure the continuance of the family. Celibacy was both an impiety and misfortune involving a kind of damnation for the offender and his ancestors. At Athens in ancient times, the Law charged the first magistrate of the city with the duty of watching, lest any family should be in danger of extinction. It was the custom in Greece that, when the citizens were called for war, the posts of danger were assigned to married men who already had sons to carry on the family. For those who remained childless, adoption was permitted, by which a stranger was initiated into the religion of the family. He was considered to be the son of the family and the heir to its responsibilities. The family worship was always offered to the ancestors at the domestic hearth which was the centre of home life and a sacred place of religion. Around the hearth, all the members of the family assembled for the rights of worship and nothing unclean was admitted to the sacred precinct. In short, all was divine within the family. Love of home was a virtue, because in the home alone man found his God and he loved his house. The Hindu prayer to the hearth is beautifully expressive of this aspect of the family, and the strength and preserver of righteous living. "Thou restorest, to the right way, the man who has gone astray, in the wrong. If we have committed a fault, if we have walked far from, righteousness pardon us." Thus it came about that the head of the Patriarchal family was not only the father of its younger members, but was also the high priest of the family religion. Upon the strictest fulfilment of this function depended the whole welfare of the family both for the generations past and the generations to come. To serve the family, to preserve its traditions, and to protect its purity, this was the whole duty of man to his religion. We have inherited from our ancestors this intense feeling about the family.

*The Modern Hindu family.*—The ordinary Hindu family, as of old, is of the joint family type the main principles and details of which are recorded in the Dharma

Shastras or Smrithis, and are more or less as above described. It implies a common habitation, community of property, of means and of cultures. According to Henry Maine, it consists of a group of natural or adoptive descendants held together by subjection to the eldest living descendant, father, grand-father, or great-grand-father. The head of the family is practically all-powerful in it. In the event of the continuance of the family after the death of the father, the eldest son succeeds him in the management as set forth in the law book (*Narada*). This adds to his influence though it may not be equal to him in dignity to that of the father. He manages the affairs of the family to the satisfaction of all the members of the family, and he is expected to watch over the spiritual welfare of all the members and to check irregularities of discipline. The junior members with their wives and children prefer to remain under the paternal roof and avoid the responsibility of the expenses of separate establishment. A respectable and well-to-do *Hindu*, as a rule, supports the indigent relatives, the family priest and other dependents. It sometimes happens that during the lifetime of the father in his old age, the son manages the affairs of the family under his directions, which gives him a sound training. The senior woman of the family occupies a respectable position in the family. She is the superintendent of the inner department of the household, and has to see to the proper feeding of every individual, to regulate the expenses according to the means thereof, to exercise a mild and prudent control over her daughters, daughters-in-law, and domestic servants and also see that daughters are married, in time. Women of such families are religious, and preserve family worship and traditions. In fact the patriarchal organization of the family, the security due to the protection of the father, and the ample means of subsistence impress

social relations with the propriety and dignity rarely found in any other religious ceremonies, and family traditions and anniversaries bring relations and friends frequently together when hospitality is freely exercised.

In such families considerable fortune is acquired by order and economy. But this interest never degenerates into sordid avarice, nor does it lead to any neglect of obligations which every head of a family may fulfil towards his children, his friends, and the community of which he forms part. All such families show much attachment to established usages and repel innovations. Their conservative spirit often degenerates into a blind and obstinate routine. In the moral side of life, in religious practices, festivals recreations and even medical practices, the women show themselves as much attached to customs as men. These are best exemplified in the aristocratic families of the Nambuthiris and the Nayars.

*Name and House.*—Closely connected with the family are the name and the house. It is the former by which the members of the family are known, and the latter within which they live, and find seclusion from the outside world. They both contribute very much to its strength and preservation. Among the members of the same family the name is rarely used, for there is no necessity for it. In the absence of a strong family likeness, it is the name that enables others to identify them, and to assign to them a definite recognisable status or position in the community. In former times, the family name had a great importance owing to the fact that to certain families within the state certain public duties were assigned; and for official purposes, and responsibility for certain duties, it was necessary, that the individual should bear the distinguishable mark of his family. In the higher ranks of society the family possesses a kind of recognition, and on it depends the status, social

precedence and conventions. The family name is also an index to a far more of a man's merit or character. The natural history of the names is a study in itself, the origin of which has risen in various ways. It may have risen either from the locality in the village or from some remote ancestor. The family names of the patriarchal families of the Nambuthiries, and those of the matriarchal families of the Nayars and titled chiefs, have originated from their first settlement. Where the family is divided into several ones by partition, the original name is kept up with the addition of a new one.

Concerning the house sites, it is said that the matriarchal families could not endure to have their houses close to one another. Scattered and separated they settled wherever they were close to a river, spring, pasture, or a grove. The villages were not arranged with united dependent holdings. Each man surrounded his house with a garden, and did not use stones or tiles, but employed a common material with no show or value. The survivals of such houses are everywhere in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.

*Kinship and Social Organisation.*—Regarding kinship it is said that "habitual proximity and contact are the strongest and the most natural of ties." The conception of the tie of blood appears to be not very strong in primitive culture. Identity of "flesh, if not of food," that is "commensality" are said to be earlier in thought than that of blood."<sup>1</sup> "Psychologically speaking, relationship develops only from relations, and in primitive thought relations are the test of kinship and *not vice versa*. The word kinship is defined in various ways by sociologists. In the ordinary sense of the term, it is applied to kinship based on consanguinity and finally depends on the institution of the family. It signifies a social group consisting

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<sup>1</sup> Crawley: *The Mystic Rose*, Chap. XVII, p. 452.

of a man, his wife, and children. The term in fact includes cases of relationship based on a kind of social convention such as adoption. Writers on human society use the word to designate relationship set up by a clan or other social groups. In that case it does not concern with the institution of the family, but is applied to persons with whom there is no tie of consanguinity. Hence arises a confusion in the use of the term.

*Morgan's classification of relationship.*—Lewis Morgan after a careful study of the subject published the terms of relationship current in as many as 139 peoples or tribes, and divided the kinship terms into two classes, which he called descriptive and classificatory. To the former, according to him, belonged Aryan, Semitic, and Uralian families, and to the latter, the Turanian, American Indian and Malayan families.<sup>1</sup> In the former collateral sanguinei are described "by an augmentation or combination of primary terms of relationship," while in the latter descriptive terms are rejected, and the consanguinei reduced to great classes by a series of apparently arbitrary generalizations in which the same terms are applied to the members of the same class.<sup>2</sup> This classification confounds relationships under the descriptive system, and enlarges the meaning of both primary and secondary terms.<sup>3</sup>

Since the publication of Morgan's work, further investigations and study of the subject brought to light fresh instances of the existence of the classificatory system of relationship among the North American tribes except the Eskimo, and among those in Polynesia, New Guinea, Australia and India as also in Northern Asia.

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<sup>1</sup> Morgan Ancient Society, Chap. 1, pp. 335-389.

<sup>2</sup> Westermarck. The History of Human Marriage, Vol. I, Chap. VII, pp. 236-237.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 238.



There are also traces of it in some parts of Europe. This classification is not held to be satisfactory. Dr. Rivers who has had a careful study of the subject holds, that there are three main varieties of the system of relationship instead of two, one of which has its origin in the clan, another in the family, and the third in the patriarchal family. The earliest system of the classificatory group was called the Malayan system. The term was found to be quite inappropriate. It was not found to be in vogue among the Malays, and therefore in preference to it, the term 'Hawaian' was given by Dr. Rivers owing to its prevalence among the Hawaiians, the Maori and in parts of Polynesia. According to this system, all consanguineal near and remote came under five classes, namely, father, mother, brothers, sisters and cousins. "Morgan assumed that this system was the root from which all others belonging to the classificatory group had developed, and that it gave a clue to the origin of group marriage.<sup>1</sup> "Without this custom," says he, it is impossible to explain the origin of group marriage, and promiscuity, antecedent to it.<sup>2</sup> He adds that it lies concealed in the misty antiquity of mankind beyond the reach of positive knowledge."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Rivers also supported the view, that to a certain extent, the features classificatory relationships had risen out of group marriage. Sir James Frazer also opines that group relationships have originated in a system of group marriage. "Dr. Rivers, indefatigable research leads him to the conclusion, that the terminology of relationship, has been rigorously determined by social conditions."<sup>4</sup> Further the classificatory system, according to Rivers, suggests the origin and

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<sup>1</sup> Morgan. *Ancient Society*, p. 455.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 502.

<sup>3</sup> Rivers in *Anthropological Essays*, p. 323.

<sup>4</sup> Westermarck. *The History of Human Marriage*, Chap. VII, pp. 241-252, 261, 249.



A Group of Pórijās, Vizagapatam District



prevalence of cross-cousin marriage, which produces a number of special features in those among whom it prevails. Further other special characters of the system depending upon this system of marriage can be distinguished.<sup>1</sup>

The terms of relationship, are derived more or less from clan organisation. "If the clan is patrilineal, all men of the previous generation are classed with the father, and all of the succeeding generation with the sons. Similarly all the members of the mother and of her generation are classed with the mother's brother, and all the men of the succeeding generation with his mother's brother's children."<sup>2</sup>

*Morgan's descriptive system.*—The system contains a number of varieties characterised by different degrees in which the descriptive principle is in action. A fully descriptive system would contain a number of terms denoting single persons or very small groups of persons and all other relatives would be named by combinations of these primary denoting terms. The Aryan system belongs to this class, in which every relationship in the "lineal and first five collateral lines, stands independent requiring many descriptive phrases or gradual invention of common terms."<sup>3</sup> Westermarck in his *History of Human Marriage*, Vol. I, Chaps. VII and VIII, discusses the subject at great length, and arrives at the conclusion, that the theory of group marriage, does not in the least support the classificatory terms used for blood relatives. Iwan Block on the other hand, emphatically asserts the prevalence of promiscuity and group marriage at the commencement of human development.<sup>4</sup> The study of

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<sup>1</sup> Westermarck. *The History of Human Marriage*, Chap. VII, pp. 241-252, 261, 249.

<sup>2</sup> Morgan. *Ancient Society*, p. 397.

<sup>4</sup> Iwan Block. *The Sexual Life of Our Time*, pp. 191-193.

the origin and development of the terms of relationship has received very little attention in India, where also the terms, such as those described above are found to be in vogue. The terms of relationship, partly depend upon consanguineity and partly on marriage. Among those who follow mother-right (Nayars and the allied castes) the terms are few and mostly classificatory, while among those who follow father-right (Brahmans and other non-Brahman higher castes) they are of both the kinds. The hill tribes and agrestic serfs in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore use the same names prevailing among the higher castes, and no trace of other names is found among them. The Sanskrit-speaking Brahmans united with a barbarous stock, lost their language in the local vernaculars which retain the grammatical structure of the aboriginal speech, to which Sanskrit gave ninety per cent. of its vocables. The subject demands a thorough investigation in all parts of India, and I propose to treat it in a separate monograph. A list of the terms of relationships current among various castes is given as appendix to this volume.

*Sexual Antagonism and Taboo.*—The conception due to the difference of sex and sexual characters renders mutual sympathy and understanding more or less difficult, and this is the characteristic tie in all periods of the grades of culture. Woman is not easily understandable by man. Man and woman are different from each other both physically and mentally. What she lacks on one side, she has more on the other. "She is through and through a creature constructed on other lines, standing nearer to Nature, and for this reason like Nature she is problematical. She is believed to be the guardian of the secrets of nature, and it is not possible to explain the wonderful magic power of woman. She is the component of man, and his partner in health, sickness, poverty and

wealth, and yet she is different from man. This difference has had the same religious results, as have attended other things which man does not understand. The woman's attitude to man is also of the same nature. "In the history of the sex there have been always at work two complementary physical forces of attraction and repulsion and man and woman may be regarded as the highest sphere in which the law of physics operates. In love the two sexes are drawn to each other by an irresistible sympathy, while in other matters there is more or less of segregation due to and enforced by human ideas of human relations." "Complete equality between man and woman," says Block, "is impossible."<sup>1</sup>

The primitive theory and practice of the separation of the sexes are illustrated by the following examples.

A Hindu wife does not mention the name of her husband. She generally speaks of him as the father of her child or the master of the house. Among the Kirghiz, women may not utter the names of the male members of the house, to do so being considered indecent.<sup>2</sup> It is also a common rule that a man may not address his wife by her name. In the Solomon Islands man shows considerable reluctance to give the names of women, and when prevailed upon to do so, pronounces them in a low tone, as if it was not proper to speak of them to others.<sup>3</sup> Among the Todas there is some delicacy on the part of the males in mentioning the names of women at all. They prefer to use the phrase, wife of so and so.<sup>4</sup> A son-in-law does not address his parents-in-law by name. Besides those mentioned above, there are also other instances of taboo. No Hindu female may enter the man's apartment. Among some of the forest tribes a man may not pass

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<sup>1</sup> Crawley. *The Mystic Rose* pp. 34-35.

<sup>2 3 4</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 47-50.

over the garments of his wife or other women. The Vettuva women of North Malabar whose leafy garments are supplied to them by their husbands every morning throw them after wearing a new one on the following day. Any person treading or passing over them may be bewitched.

Evidences drawn from respective occupations of the sexes throw further light upon sexual taboo. Sexual differentiation in primary and sexual characters necessitates same difference of occupation, and religious ideas of primitive men have emphasized a biological separation. Among the Todas, women may not approach *tirieri* where the sacred cattle are kept, nor the sacred *palal*.<sup>1</sup> The Brahman woman cannot touch an image, nor perform *pujas*. The Arabs of Mecca do not allow women religious instruction, because it would bring them nearer their masters.<sup>2</sup> There is again a widely spread custom which enforces the separation of the sexes during certain periods. Both during the menstrual period and at childbirth, the women are under seclusion. Even at marriage, the separation of the sexes as long as possible is very wide-spread owing to the fear of dangerous results.<sup>3</sup> The separation thus caused by religious conceptions due to sexual differences is assisted by the natural solidarity of the sex, until a prohibition or sex taboo is regularly imposed through life. Further all religious conceptions spring more or less from constant functional origins, physiological or psychological. A close survey of mankind in general and civilized societies in particular, reveals the fact that men prefer to associate with men, and women with women except on occasions when the functional needs of love calls for union and sympathy between the sexes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Crawley. The Mystic Rose, Chap. III, pp. 49-52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 58.

*The Couvade.*—The custom known as couvade is not unknown in India. In Madras when a Kurava woman feels the pains of childbirth, her husband puts on some of her cloths, has the woman's mark on his head, and retires to bed in a dark room. As soon as the delivery is over, the baby is washed and placed beside the father who is tended with various drugs; while the woman is left alone in an outhouse. Her pollution lasts for 28 days, and her husband's only fourteen. When a Nayadi woman is in labour, her husband shampoos his abdomen, and prays to his Gods for safe delivery. The Parayans of Cochin fast for several days before the delivery of their wives. When a Pulayan woman is delivered of a child, she leaves the house, and returns to it after two weeks, while her husband is confined during the period, and undergoes the treatment usually prescribed for women on such occasions. A similar custom prevails among the Dombars and Lambadis after the birth of a child. The husband is under treatment, remains at home, while the wife goes about her work as usual. The same custom prevails among some of the Assam tribes. During the pregnancy of his wife, a Lushai husband avoids all hard work because it is thought, that it would be injurious to the child's birth. He should not dismember an animal, lest his child should be born without corresponding limbs. In the event of his giving any articles of clothing to a man, his health would be permanently impaired. A Ladaki will not leave his home during the period, usually before a month, of his wife's lying in. Still less will he cross a flowing water at such a time. In the Central Provinces and Behar, a man must not thatch or repair his house during his wife's pregnancy. Brahmana and other high caste men allow their hair to grow during the period of their wife's pregnancy. The custom is a survival of couvade. "Two



explanations<sup>1</sup> of the practice have been suggested, one by Bachofen, supported by Prof. Tylor, and the other by Prof. Tylor which he afterwards abandoned for the former. Bachofen "takes it to belong to the turning point of society when the tie of parentage, till then recognised in maternity, was extended to take in paternity, this being done by the fiction of representing the father as a second mother."<sup>2</sup> He compares the couvade with the symbolic pretences of birth which in the classical world were performed as rites of adoption. To these significant examples may be added the fact that among certain tribes "the couvade is the legal form by which the father recognises the child as his son." In other words it is a piece of symbolism whereby the father asserts his paternity, and according to his rights as against the maternal system of descent and inheritance. Prof. Tylor finds it most frequent in what he calls the maternal-paternal stage represented by peoples with whom the husband lives for a year with the wife's family and then removes. As a record of the change from the maternal to a paternal system, and as a means whereby that change was effected, it should not, as he points out, occur in the purely maternal stage."<sup>2</sup>

*Conclusion.*—From the foregoing account of the manners and customs described in the two lectures on Marriage and Sex, it may be seen that infant marriage among Brahmans and other higher castes does not now prevail to any great extent. The marriageable age of girls has been raised, partly by the current public opinion, and partly by the difficulty of securing suitable husbands owing to the heavy bridegroom price. Cross-cousin marriage has for a long time become a widely prevalent

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<sup>1</sup> Crawley : *The Mystic Rose*, Chap. XVI, p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> A. Crawley : *The Mystic Rose*, Chap. XVI, pp. 419-20.

custom in Southern India. Of late, the custom of a maternal uncle marrying his niece has also begun on economic grounds. Widow marriage among the Brahmans and other higher Non-Brahman castes is of rare occurrence. The various forms of marital relations polyandry, polygamy, levirate are slowly disappearing. There are no survivals of promiscuity and group marriage any where in India, nor is there any evidence of their prevalence corresponding to those in Australia or Melanesia. Kinship and social organization demand special investigations. From the purely anthropological standpoint it is sometimes said, that marriage appears to be an artificial institution which fails to do justice to the human need for sexual variety, since vast numbers of men do live *de jure* monogamously, but *de facto* polygamously. This is a fact pointed out by Schopenhauer and is based on physical and sensual considerations. It does not concern itself with marriage as a divine institution, possessing religious and moral content.

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## VIII

### MAGIC, SORCERY, AND WITCHCRAFT.

*Introduction.*—In examining the survival of primitive ideas and opinions, there is much to be learned from the belief in magic 'which is characterised as one of the most pernicious delusions that ever vexed mankind.' It belongs mainly to the lowest known stages of civilization, and to the lowest races that still maintain themselves in full vigour. From this low level it may be raised upward. Much of the savage art still remains unchanged. Many new practices have been, during the long lapse of time, developed, and both the older and the later developments are still current among the cultured nations.

The primitive mental habit is best described by the term "unscientific" and positively by the term "religious" in the ordinary connotation of the word. Primitive man cannot distinguish between the natural and supernatural, between subjective notion and objective reality. He regards the creations of his own imaginations in the same way in which he perceives objects in the external world; and while the latter is always changing, the former never passes away. "It is plain," as Dr. Jevons points out, "that as man is turned loose among the innumerable possible causes with nothing to guide his choice, the changes against making the right selection are considerable. Further there can be no progress in science, until man is able to distinguish between the possible and impossible effects or causes, and learns to dismiss from consideration, the impossible." "Experience might teach man this real difference, but



A Pānan Magician



the vast majority of the human race have not learned, that like does not necessarily produce like. Four-fifths of mankind believe in sympathetic magic."<sup>1</sup>

In the analysis of the principles of thought based on magic, it will be found to agree with two types of association, namely, similarity and contiguity. It is often difficult to decide whether a given associative process is related with the one or with the other. It is also an open question to decide to which group a given superstition belongs. From the law of similarity a magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by indicating it, and from the law of contiguity he tries to deduce that whatever he does to a material object, will affect the person with whom the object is closely connected, whether it has formed part of his body or not. The magicians assume that these two laws are of universal application, and are not limited to human actions. The magician knows magic only on its practical side, and is unable to analyse the processes based on it. He never thinks of the principles involved in his actions. In short magic is an art and never a science, for the very idea of science is lacking in the undeveloped mind of a magician.<sup>2</sup>

The magical rite is twofold, namely (1) oral rite which consists of the recital of certain words in the form of prayers, (2) manual rite which consists in the performance of certain actions. Here the magician imagines the feeling of some difficulty to be overcome. The difficulty is not often considered to be a hostile or an aggressive force which is personified. It is therefore commanded, persuaded, cajoled, warned, threatened by or cursed like a human being.<sup>3</sup> The malignant force is informed of

<sup>1</sup> Haddon. *Magic and Petrichnism*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer. *Golden Bough*, *Magic Art and Evolution of Kings*, Vol. I, Chap. III, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol., Chap. III, pp. 52-54.

its defeat. The manual rite, on the contrary, involves the employment of images which play an important part on the manual side of magic.

*Two main divisions of Magic.*—According to the laws of thought magic may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely homeopathic or imitative, and contiguous. These two divisions may be comprehended under the general name of sympathetic magic. Some important and widely known instances of each class are herein given.

*Homeopathic or Imitative Magic.*—The most common practice for killing the enemy of a man or injuring him is by making his figure in clay, and transfixing it with an arrow which had been barbed with a thorn or by moulding a figure of wax and melting it in fire. Sometimes an earthen image is made, and nails are stuck into it. As the images are injured, to the same extent are injured the human victims on whom this black art is exercised.<sup>1</sup> This practice is prevailing more or less among nations, all over the world, *viz.*, the Chaldeans, the Ancient Egyptians, the Romans, the Persians, the Singalese, the Borneans, the Japanese, the people of the Strait Settlements, and even the peasants of Devonshire, and the Highlanders of Scotland.<sup>1</sup> A similar practice is current among the Jonakan Mappillas of Malabar. "A doll is made of earth taken from a grave or from a place where dead bodies are cremated, and some sentences of the Koran are read backwards over 21 small pegs. These pegs the operator strikes into the various parts of the body of the image, which is afterwards shrouded like a corpse, carried to a graveyard and buried in the name of the enemy whom it is found to injure."<sup>1</sup> Magical images have often been employed for the purpose of winning love. Thus to shoot an arrow into the heart of a clay image was

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<sup>1</sup> Crook. Popular Religion and Folklore of North India, Vol. II, p. 278.

the ancient method of securing a woman's affection, only the bowstring should be of hemp.<sup>1</sup> In some parts of India seeds are sown by women, who in sowing seeds let their hair hang loose down on their back, in order that the rice may grow luxuriantly, and have long stalks. Seeds for the kitchen gardens are sown by men and women standing, lest they may not germinate and grow well. Many are the magical rites practised at weddings, during pregnancy, at birth, to procure offspring, and to ensure its safety, as also to determine the sex and even to resuscitate the dead. A few instances coming under each is herein given. The magical rites performed at weddings are often symbolical. In some parts of India a naked woman ploughs the soil in times of scarcity to ensure crop. A Telegu bridegroom of the Baliya caste, at his wedding performs a mimic ploughing ceremony in a basket with a stick or a miniature plough. Similar rites are performed by the Kamas, Pallis, Sempadavans and Thottiyans. Among the Kappus a milk post is planted, and if it takes root and grows, it is a happy union.<sup>2</sup> The parting of the bride's hair is probably an imitation of the ploughing rite. In Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, the Nayar girls and those of other Non-Brahman castes in their tali-tying ceremonies have to plant a jasmine shoot whose flowers they should present to the deity.

The Hindus generally consider that all life is one and that it is tangible or material. This idea comes out in various ceremonies. Thus at the commencement of the wedding ceremony, some white-ant earth is spread on the floor, and on this some paddy and dhal seeds are scattered on the evening of that day. At the termination

<sup>1</sup> Frazer. *Golden Bough*, Magic Art and Evolution of Kings, Vol. I, pp. 177. 163-37, 30-31.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston. *Castes and Tribes of South India* Vol. III, pp. 100-103; VII, pp. 235-237, Vol. VIX, pp. 354-356 Vol. VII, p. 192.



of the ceremony usually after four days, the seeds have sprouted, and a procession is formed when the seedlings are gathered by the newly married couple, and taken into the village well into which it is thrown. This is believed to ensure their fertility. A similar custom prevails also among the Idayans, the married couple sow nine kinds of grain in seven trays. Among the Agamudians, a grinding stone and roller representing Siva and Sakti are placed in the north-east corner, and, at their side, pans containing nine kinds of seedlings placed. Seven pots are arranged in a row between the grinding stone and the lamp. Seven married women bringing water from seven streams or wells pour it into a pot in front of the lamp. The milk post which is generally a branch of *Ficus religiosa* is set up between the lamp and the row of pots. Sometimes twigs of Odina Wodier and green bamboo sticks are substituted. The married couple will be prosperous if the twig takes root and prospers.<sup>1</sup> The marriage ceremonies of a Brahman girl refer to magic rites of this type. At the initiation (*upanayanam*) a Brahman boy is made to tread on his right foot on a stone, like a stone be firm.<sup>2</sup> The same ceremony is performed for a Brahman bride at her wedding when she is asked to tread with the words "Come, tread on the stone : like a stone be firm. Tread on the foes down, overcome the enemies." Again on the night at the wedding ceremony or on the following night after the pole star has appeared, the bridal pair are taken out by the priest, and asked to look at the pole star. He shows the star with the words, " Firm be thou thriving with me." She is asked to say : " I see the pole star, may I obtain offspring." Then turning to his wife, he should say, " To

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston. Castes and Tribes of South India, Vol I. pp. 13-14.

<sup>2</sup> Sankhayana, grihya Sutras, I. 14. 12, Vol, I 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> Sankhayana, Grihya Sutras, I. 17. 3. 4.

me Brihaspati has given thee : live with me a hundred autumns.”<sup>1</sup> The intention of the ceremony is plainly to guard against the fickleness of fortune and the instability of eternal bliss by the steadfast influence of the constant star. Again to ensure the birth of a male child, the ceremony of *pumsavana* is performed in the third month of pregnancy under the *nakshatram pushya* when the husband gives to eat (to the wife) after she has fasted, in curds from a cow which has a calf of the same colour (with herself) two beans and one of barley grain for each handful of curds. To his question “What dost thou drink,” she should thrice reply : “Generation of a male child, generation of a male child.” He then inserts into her right nostril, in the shadow of a round apartment the sap of a herb which has not faded. There are two *pumsavana* hymns intended to make the foetus in the womb develop into a male (A. V. III. 23. VI. 11). The rite associated with the former consisted in breaking an arrow into pieces on the woman’s head and a piece of the arrow fastened on her, symbolising the act of *prajanam*, and in pouring a few drops of a mixture of milk, marshed grain and sundry plants into her right nostril, with the recital of these mantras, “Into thy womb shall enter a male germ, as an arrow into a quiver.” May a man be born there, a son ten months old. A male child dost thou produce, and after him a male shall be born. Thou shalt be the mother of sons of those who are born, and those whom thou shalt bear. By the effective seeds bulls put forth, do thou obtain a son ; be fruitful milch cow, Prajapathi’s work do. I perform for thee ; may the germ enter thy womb. Obtain thou, woman, a son who shall bring prosperity. The planet whose father was the sky, whose mother the earth, whose root the

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<sup>1</sup> Asvalayana, Grihya Sūtras I. 7. 22.

ocean, may those divine herbs aid thee in obtaining a son." A different form of the rite was associated with the other hymn referred to above. During the period of gestation charms were uttered to prevent *Nirriti* and her numerous brood of evil spirits from causing abortion (Rig V. X. 162, and A. V. VI. 17). At parturition A. V. I. 11 was muttered to secure easy child-birth. A birth ritual was the first washing of an infant, at which as in later times, was probably recited A. V. II. 10, and all evil was symbolically washed away from the child's body. Mantras were recited when the baby cut its first teeth, and the child was fed with rice, barley and sesamum (A. V. VI. 140). Fire offering was given for the long life of the boy (A. V. II. 28). Fertility can also be communicated by placing a boy of good birth on both sides in her lap with this verse "Into thy womb." Water as a source of fertility plays an important part in wedding rites. Fish as an emblem of the fertility are symbolically caught by the bridal pair. The Brahmans and the Kshatriyas pretend to catch them. The Holeyas let the fish go after catching. The potter's wheel as a symbol of the creative power is also in evidence at weddings. Many are the instances of magical rites in wedding and other ceremonies, and space forbids me from giving any detailed account. Quite different is the one performed for a non-Brahman pregnant woman in some parts of Travancore. The woman goes to the root of a tamarind tree, and there she receives a thread seven yards long. She entwines it round the tree. If it breaks, the child will die. Next day the thread is unwound, and her husband gives a handful of tamarind leaves. As she enters the house, she is also given some tamarind juice to drink, pouring it into her hands through his.

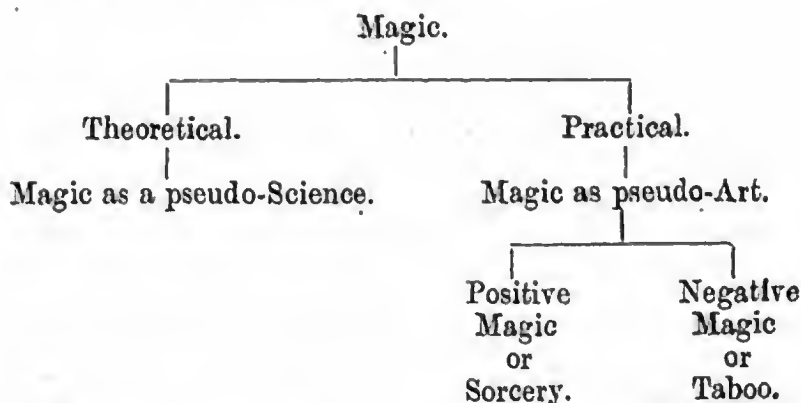
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<sup>1</sup> Sankhayana Grihya Sutras, I, 16.8; I, 19.5 and 6.

As she drinks the juice she leans against a cutting of a mango tree, which is then planted. If it fails to strike root, the child is doomed to adversity.

An elderly woman of the family pours oil into her navel, and determines the sex of the child from the manner of the fall.

In this connection it must be noted, that as Dr. Frazer points out, that magic is not only composed of positive precepts, but also contains a large number of negative precepts or prohibitions which are called taboos, while the positive precepts are known as charms. In fact a large part of the doctrine of taboo involves an application of sympathetic magic with the two laws of similarity and contiguity. Taboo in other words, is an application of practical magic. "Positive magic or sorcery, says 'Do this in order that so and so may happen,' while negative magic or taboo says, do not do so lest so and so may happen." The relation of magic to sorcery and taboo may be thus expressed<sup>1</sup> :—



To illustrate the relations of taboo to magic, a few instances are herein given. "In Bilaspur when the chief men meet in council, no one present should turn a

<sup>1</sup> Frazer. The Golden Bough. The Magic Art and Evolution of Kings, Vol. I, pp. 112-113.

spindle," for by doing so they think that the discussion would never come to an end.<sup>1</sup> Elephant hunters in East Africa believe, that if their wives prove unfaithful in while engaged in hunting the elephants become so strong that they cannot be trapped. Consequently the hunters become subject to the danger either of death or being wounded. If he hears of the misconduct of his wife he abandons the chase and returns home.<sup>2</sup> Fertilising influences are supposed to be exercised by pregnant women or by women who have had children, and barren women are supposed to make fruit trees barren. Thus far have we been dealing with sympathetic magic, "the leading principle of which as we have seen, is that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause." The other division of magic is called the contagious magic which depends upon the notion that things which have been united, remain in such a sympathetic relation that whatever is done to the one must affect the other as well. Here also, as in sympathetic magic, "there is a mistaken association of ideas." The following examples may be taken as illustrations. A few hair, from the beards a lock of hair, some nail parings of a man are used by the magicians everywhere because of their having acquired the virtues from a portion of his body. The aborigines of South-Eastern Australia believe that a man may be injured by burying sharp fragments of quartz glass in the mark made by his reclining body. It is believed that the magical virtue of these sharp things enters his body and causes acute pains. Take the nest of a crow from a margosa tree, and bury it in the cremation ground. Then take and throw it in the house of your enemy. The house will soon take fire. Take the ashes from the

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<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *The Golden Bough. The Magic Art and Evolution of Kings*, Vol. I, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer. *Golden Bough. Magic Art and Evolution of Kings*, p. 114.





A Hook-swinging Ceremony of the Gonds, Central Provinces

*From Rai Bahadur Hira Lal*

burial ground on which an ass has been rolling on a Saturday or a Sunday and keep it in the house of your enemy. The members of the family will soon quit the house or a severe illness will attack them. Peasants of Northern India often attribute all kinds of pains and sores to the machinations of a sorcerer who has meddled with their foot-prints. Among the hill tribes of South India, a favourite mode of injuring an enemy is often resorted to by measuring his foot-prints and muttering a spell over them.

*Positive Magic or Sorcery.*—The term sorcery has been already explained. Many are the imprecations against demons, sorcerers and enemies! Malabar has been long the land of magic and sorcery, and a short account of the various practices prevailing among the people is given here. Kuttichāthan is supposed to be a mysteriously working mischievous imp in the Malabar demonology. He is supposed to be a well-nourished twelve-year old boy. Some say that they have seen him *vis-a-vis* having a forelock. There are people in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore who still think that he and others like him are so many missiles which are thrown at anybody when they like to achieve their purpose. They are like Shakespear's Ariel—little active bodies and most willing slaves of their masters who happen to control them. Their victims suffer unbearable agony. The clothes of victims take fire; their food turns to ordure; their beverages become wine. Stones fall on all sides of them, but not one of them may be seen to injure any. Their beds become a bed of thorns. With all this agonizing mischief Kuttichāthan does no serious harm. He oppresses and harasses, but never injures. Household articles and jewellery of value may be left in the premises of homes guarded by these mischievous imps and no thief dares to lay his hand on them. The invisible



sentry keeps watch over his master's property and has unchecked powers of movement in any medium. As remuneration for his services Cháthan wants nothing but food. In the event of starvation Cháthan would not hesitate to remind the master of his power and of others like him ; but if ordinarily cared for, they would be most willing drudges. As a protection against the infinite power secured for their masters, the malignities done through their instrumentality recoil on their masters or promoters who die childless after much physical and mental agony.

Another method of oppressing humanity believed to be in the power of sorcerers is to make men and women possessed of spirits. Here women are subject to their influences more than men. Delayed puberty, permanent sterility and still births are common ills of a devil-possessed woman. Sometimes the demon refuses to leave the body unless the exorcisor would promise them a habitation in his own compound, and arrange for daily offerings to be given. Very often this is done. Hysteria, epilepsy and other disorders, are in Malabar ascribed to the possession of devils who can also cause cattle-disease accidents of every kind. Throwing stones on houses and setting fire to the thatch are supposed to be their ordinary recreations.

Primitive tribes all over India and other countries of the world believe that magicians and sorcerers can assume the figure of any animal they like. The Parayan and Panan sorcerers have powers of witchcraft by which they can transform themselves into cats, dogs, bulls, tigers and other wild animals as they choose to carry on mischievous practices.<sup>1</sup> The Mundas of Chotanagpur have similar beliefs in transformation 'to witch

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<sup>1</sup> An anthakrishna Iyer. *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, Chap. IV, pp. 77-81, Chap. X, pp. 176-178.

away the lives of man and beast,' The Todas and Badagas are mortally afraid of the Kurumbas who are believed to possess the power of destroying men, animals, and property by witchcraft. 'The Finns and Lapps' of low Tatar Barbarism were characterised by sorcery which flourished among the Siberian kinsfolk, and they were objects of superstitious fear to their Scandinavian neighbours."<sup>1</sup> It is said that the name of Finn and Lapp was equivalent to sorcerer. It is said that a Roman Catholic priest can cast out devils and cure madness; and the Presbyterian clergy have no such power. The ancient Romans also believed in persons who could be transformed into beasts. In Yorkshire the witches are believed to transform themselves into beasts and in Ireland into cattle. Similar transformations are believed to take place among the Parayans, Paniyans and Panans. Thus sorcery is a living article of faith among the ignorant and backward people as also among the jungle-folk.

In regard to the performance of magic, a cemetery which is supposed to be the seat of flesh-eating demons is chosen, for it is considered to be the suitable place for the operations connected with it. A cross road or sometimes a road is a suitable and favourite locality to divest oneself of the evil influences. Ordinarily a secluded portion of a house, a compound, or solitary places in the fields or forests are also the sites selected for the purpose. The time for the performance of hostile magic is during night. Direction is an important factor and is usually towards the south, because it is the abode of the spirits of the dead who are ever inclined to do harm unless they are propitiated. Spirits and demons are supposed to be concerned only with one kind of activity, namely, presiding

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<sup>1</sup> & <sup>2</sup> E. B. Tylar, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, Chap. IV, pp. 144-145.

over fields and helping at harvest. Others again are invoked to spread terror and death over enemies (Atharvāna Veda, IX-XII). There are also others who are bent upon causing damage and destruction in the sphere of human life. Their appearance also are human with a sort of deformity. They can be brought under the control of a magician or sorcerer who must be ever ready to give them offerings or sacrifices.

*Disease and Divination.*—The ghosts, demons and spirits are a legion. The belief current among the people of primitive culture that all maladies which vex mankind are brought about by individual spirits or demons who require periodical offerings is very widespread. Small pox, cholera and plague are caused by demons in charge of them, and the prevalence of these epidemics in a locality is owing to the failure or indifference on the part of the people of the locality to propitiate with offerings. In times of these epidemics the priest (*pujari* or *Velichapad*) who is also a medicine man and an intermediary between them and the votaries is often consulted, and he working himself to a frenzy speaks out their will which always results in a due propitiation with offerings. The festivals of this kind connected with them are very common in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. In every temple dedicated to Bhagavathi there is a diviner known as *Velichapad* and he speaks out the will of the goddess in times of epidemics. It is believed that the diseases are caused by the displeasure of the deity owing to the failure of the people to propitiate her with offerings. Under such circumstances the *velichapad* he plays the part of an oracle. After bathing and dressing in a new piece of cloth, he enters on the scene in front of the deity with sword in hand, and his legs girt with bells, in pious contemplation. After a short time he advances a few steps, and rolling his eyes makes a few

frantic cuts on the forehead. He is already in a convulsive shiver and works himself up into a state of inspiration, and in this state he utters some disjointed sentences which are believed to be inspired, and his commands are instantly obeyed. He thus acts as an intercessor between the goddess and her votaries. It is curious to note that this kind of worship has crept into Brahmanism in which a Brahman acts the part of one *Velichapad* representing Sástha and Subramania, both of whom are propitiated with offerings. Sometimes a man or a woman becomes a devil dancer and is inspired. One of them is worshipped as a deity when every bystander consults her respecting her wants, the welfare of absent relatives, and lastly about everything for which her prediction becomes available. Among Kuruvikkarans, a class of bird catchers and beggars in South India, the goddess Kali is believed to descend upon the priest who gives oracular replies, after drinking the blood which streams from the throat of the goat that has been cut. It is the case with all exorcisers. It is also believed that inspiration is produced by means of certain plants which are different for man and woman. To prepare herself for the reception of the spirit she inhales the fumes of the incense, sitting in a posture with her head over the smoking perfume. Gradually she falls into a trance accompanied by shrieks, grimaces and violent spasms. The spirit is now supposed to have entered into her body, and her utterances are all oracular being the utterances of the in-dwelling spirit. Among the low castes of Cochin, Malabar and Travancore there is a class of professional diviners known as Kaniyans. They are astrologers and are practically the guiding spirits in all social and domestic concerns of the village folk, and even the Syrian Christians and Jonakan Mappillas often resort to them for advice. They foretell lucky days and hours, cast horoscopes,

explain the causes of calamities and misfortunes and prescribe remedies for them. Seeds cannot be sown nor trees planted without their being consulted beforehand. They are often consulted to find lucky days for setting out on a journey, commencing an enterprise, giving a loan, executing a deed, or shaving the head. On all important occasions such as births, feeding and naming babies, tonsure, beginning of the alphabet, and marriage, the Kaniyan's service is indispensable. His work in short, mixes him up with the greatest as with the most trivial of domestic events. His position becomes correspondingly great. The Astrologer's finding is as solemnly accepted as that of an oracle of God himself, the justice of which nobody can dispute, and the poorer classes act up to his advice most unhesitatingly. They are busy all the year round; but their lucrative business consists generally in the casting of horoscopes of persons who go to consult them regarding the events of their life and prescribing the rules and ceremonies to be observed by individuals for the purpose of propitiating god and planets to avert calamities and misfortunes. There are hardly any members of respectable families who are not provided with any horoscopes, and nobody grudges to pay a few rupees or sometimes as much as ten or twelve for the casting of a horoscope. This depends on the position and status of the astrologer.

*Talismans and Amulets.*—The origin of talismans and amulets is buried in the obscurity of ages. These two terms are indiscriminately used and considered to be synonymous. They have however different significations. Talisman refers to the influence of a planet, or of the zodiac, upon the person born under it. In ancient times it was a symbolic figure engraved on stone, metal, or on a palmyra leaf, and was generally worn both to procure love and avert danger from its possessor; while the amulet was used for the latter purpose only. Belief

in them at present is not so universal as in ancient times. Many of the virtues claimed for them are no longer believed to be efficacious. Symbols, generally of a religious nature, have formed the basis of talismans and charms, from the earliest times, and they occupy a very important position in human affairs. They had their origin in the neolithic or later stone age. They were the earliest weapons of the pre-historic man, who constantly used them in clearing the way when moving from place to place, and in cutting and shaping the wood used for making his shelters. This being so, it is easy to think of their association with strength, power, and usefulness. Their symbolic use to express these virtues is a logical conclusion. As a symbol of power, their power is taken by the sword which is now carried before kings at important ceremonies. Talismans, formed in the shape of axe-heads, and pierced with holes for suspension, were said to have been used in the neolithic age in Portugal. Its ornament was divine in its feminine aspect which was respected by the prehistoric man who placed the feminine first in his beliefs, tracing his own descent and position in the tribe through the mother. The arrow-head had a signification similar to that of the axe. In Japan flint arrow-heads were supposed to have been dropped by flying spirits. They were very popular as amulets to protect the wearer from disease, and to avert the evil eye.

The *swastika* is one of the oldest and most universal of talismans known. It can also be traced to the neolithic age, and has been found engraved on the stone implements of this period. It is found in all countries. On the rock walls of the Buddhist caves of India, they are used in great numbers with their arms turned both ways, often in the course of the same inscription. In Sanskrit, it means happiness, pleasure and good luck. The word is derived from "*su*" good or well; "*Astic*," being, that is

good being. It is still used in China, Japan, and India as an amulet for long life, good fortune, and good luck.

The serpent has at all times appealed to the imagination of Man. Owing to its length of life, it has been used as a symbol of eternity. It is a talisman of longevity, health, and vitality. Solomon's seal which is an inverted triangle is also another ancient talisman used in every religion. It was worn for protection against all casualties, dangers, and mischief, and to preserve its wearer from all evil. "In its composition, the triangle with its apex upwards symbolises good, and with inverted apex, evil. The triangle with its apex is also typical of the trinity and it exists in all religions. In India, China, and Japan, its three angles represent Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, the creator, preserver, and destroyer, or regenerator; in Egypt it represents Osiris, Isis, and Horus, and in the Christian Church, the Holy Trinity. As a whole, it stood for the elements of fire and spirit, composed of the three virtues, Love, Truth, and Wisdom. The triangle with its apex downwards represented the element of water, and typified the material world, or the three enemies of the soul, the world, the flesh, and the devil, and the cardinal sins, envy, and malice."

*Charms.*—The word 'charm' signifies chanting or recitation of a verse, and is opposed to magic power or occult influence. It is also otherwise called 'spell.' It includes 'material things credited with magical properties worn by the person whom it is designed to protect. Besides being protective, charms may be offensive, devised as those in *Tantric* school, to injure or destroy an enemy. The amulet on the other hand belongs to the subdivision of physical charm, and is worn by a person for protection. The belief in its efficacy is common to believers in all religions. Charms worn on the body were intended to satisfy a two-fold purpose, namely, to ward off evil influences from

one's person, and to attract prosperity. Sometimes one and the same charm serves both the purposes. For example the pearl destroys demons, disease and poverty, and at the same time bestows prosperity and longevity. Amulets are made of wood and other substances. Their efficacy is believed to depend upon the particular power of repulsion inherent in them, but is believed to have been given by Gods to men who co-operate with them. Gods are said to have been successful by the use of them." By amulets Indra overcame demons (Athar. x. iii. ii). Their potency emanates in their name, and the amulet made of the *varana* tree (*Cratoeva roxburghi*) destroys enemies. An amulet made of the wood is thus addressed in the A. V. XIII. 14. II "as the wind and the fire consume the trees, the lords of the forest, so thou consume my rivals." Beads made of *rudrāksha*, the berry of the plant (*Eleocarpus ganitrus*) worn by the Saivites, and those made by the wood of the basil plant, and worn by the Vaishnavites secure the wearer the protection of Siva and Vishnu. The shell of cowries is worn by women, children and also by cattle, and they crack by the potency of evil eye. The blowing of the conch and ringing of the bell before *pujas* scare away evil spirits. The coils of the former from left to right are specially valued. The demons and spirits of India originate from the stone age, and are afraid of iron. Iron bracelets are worn by Hindu married women in Northern India. For the same reason babies wear leglets in Southern India. Women in confinement have by the side of their bedding a bunch of margosa leaves and an iron sickle, and carry them whenever they go out either to a river or tank, for a bath or even to a lavatory. Doms of Northern India never commit burglary without iron. Copper is held sacred and many sacrificial utensils are made of it. All Hindus and Mahomedans wear at



marriage a crown of precious metals or a tinsel at marriage. The same belief extends to the precious metals in the form of jewellery, the use of which was prophylactic before it became ornamental. This is shown by the fact that jewels are made to guard the orifices exposed to the entry of spirits:—"ears, nose, temples, neck, hands, feet, waist and pudenda." Among the primitive tribes ornaments took the place of leaves, flowers, fruits of trees which were originally used for protection, and to these were added bones, teeth or horns of animals, the virtues of which went to the wearer. Among these the ring was supposed to possess special power. The ring of *kusa* or *darbha* grass worn by the Brahmans on all ceremonial occasions is supposed to possess a purifying influence. For the same reason the orthodox and *vaidik* Brahmans wear a gold ring with the figure of eight engraved on it which is held to be sacred. Combinations of precious stones:—ruby, pearl, coral, emerald, topaz, diamond, sapphire, amethyst and cat's eye are believed to be efficacious as charms. Jade is supposed to divert lightning, and to cure palpitation of heart. Coral wards off the evil influence of the Sun, and purifies mourners from impurities.<sup>1</sup>

*Dreams.*—The doctrine of dreams is said to belong more to religion than to magic. There is an axiom that dreams go by contraries, and yet a popular dream interpretation has not been correctly made. Different nations make different interpretations. According to Moslem ideas, it is a good omen to dream of something white or green or of water, but bad to dream of anything black or red or of fire; that a palm tree indicates an Arab, a peacock, a king; he who dreams of endeavouring to reach stars will live free at some great man's table. Looking into the literature of dreams, it means that offensive odour means annoyance, washing the hands means freedom from anxieties, to embrace one's

<sup>1</sup> Hastings. Encyclopedia of Primitive Religion and Ethics.

beloved is very fortunate. To weep in sleep is a sign of joy. He who dreams of losing a tooth shall lose a friend, to follow bees betokens gain ; to be married signifies that some kinsfolk are dead. To dream of death means happiness and long life. To dream of crossing a bridge denotes that one will have a good situation to seek after. To dream of God and dreaming as if one is in prayer are said to be good. He who dreams of fresh water has his life prolonged, of dirty water, unhappiness in the family. If one sees the waves of the sea, crimes will be committed in the neighbourhood. A person will be cured of sickness if one dreams of Brahmans, kings, flowers, jewels, women, or a lookingglass. Wealth is ensured by a dream that one is bitten in the shade by a snake or a scorpion. If he dreams of a cobra, or of his wife, some near relative is believed to have conceived. Hindu wives think that to tell their husband's name or pronounce them even in a dream would bring them to an untimely end. In the event of a person's having an auspicious dream, he should get up and not go to sleep again. But, if the dream is of evil omen, he should pray that he may be spared from its evil effects, and may go to sleep again.<sup>1</sup>

According to a theory, it is believed that in dreams a man's soul leaves his body, and wanders in quest of things attractive to it. In the lower range of culture, it is taken for granted that a man's apparition in a dream is on a visit from his disembodied spirit which the dreamers see when asleep. All dreams are construed into visits from the spirits of their deceased friends. One main reason of the practice of fasting, penance, narcotising by drugs, and other means of bringing on morbid excitation, is that patients may obtain the sight of spectral beings from whom they look to gain spiritual knowledge, and even worldly power.

<sup>1</sup> James Ward, *Dreams and Omens*.

*Scientific Explanations of the Dreaming State.*—

The scientific explanation is that the mind may be considered to be made up of two parts—the ordinary mind and the inner mind. It is the inner mind that works usually in sleep, either ordinary or hypnotic, and that also helps the individual in moments of danger. When the body is dulled by sleep or unconsciousness, the inner mind has a chance to escape, as it were, from its attention to the affairs of the body. It is released from its chains, and can work more easily. This is why in moments of great danger, or when death is very near, and the body is incapable of action or movement, the mind is able to present itself to persons at a great distance. It can and does appear as an apparition or wraith that tries to give some messages to some beloved one. Still another explanation is that of the influence of spirits. At deaths, it is suggested, part only of the body which we call man—body dies. The remaining part soul, and spirit lives for ever. The surviving individuality, the soul and spirit, perhaps needs to impress some message, warning or other communication upon the living ordinary world. It takes the opportunity of finding a mind suitably free in sleep, upon which it endeavours to impress its message. The dreamer is unconscious of this external influence and feels and acts in this dreamy state as though he was living through this experience itself. If the dream is a vivid one, it will persist and have some real effect in modifying the waking life.<sup>1</sup>

*Difference between Sorcery and Magic.*—"Sorcery is essentially an art of influencing spirits by treating them like people under some circumstances, that is to say, by appeasing them, reconciling them, making them more favourably disposed to one by means of

<sup>1</sup> James Ward, *Dreams and Omens*, pp. 31-37.

Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, pp. 110-111.

intimidation, by depriving them of their power, and by subjecting them to one's will, in fact all that is accomplished through the same methods have been found effective with the same people." The sorcerer does everything without the help of the Gods, and makes the demons subservient to his will. Magic, on the other hand, is something else. It does not concern itself with spirits and uses special means, and is the earlier and more important part of animistic teaching. Magic is applied where spiritualization of nature has not been accomplished. Magic serves the most varied purposes. It must subject the process of nature to the will of man, protect the individual against enemies and dangers and give him the power to injure the enemies and avert dangers. But the principles on whose assumptions the magic activity is based or rather the principles of magic are so evident that they are recognized by all authors. It is simply a primitive<sup>1</sup> man's science.

*Magic and Religion.*—Magic, according to Frazer, represents a more primitive mode of thought than religion. He contends that magic preceded religion, and that it was gradually abandoned in favour of the latter, because its value became little by little discredited. Man originally tried to control everything as he liked by magic before he had any conception of Gods. He then prayed to them for what magic failed to achieve. Frazer, tries to express, that man was ever active from the very beginning for general rules, by which he thought that he could turn natural phenomena to his advantage. But man soon found out his mistake. He became conscious of his helplessness, and that led him to believe in the importance of the supernatural beings with which his imagination peopled the universe. It also enhanced his conception

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Lang, *Magic and Religion*, p. 44.

of their power and greatness. He had already thought of their existence in the world, and considered himself to be their equal. But as magic failed him, he began to attribute the power to the supernatural beings. His conception of the world was that it was dominated by a conscious agency though no longer his own. If he was weak, the beings that controlled the world and its gigantic machinery were more powerful. His old idea of his equality with the Gods slowly vanished, and he resigned the hope of directing the course of nature by magic. Henceforward he began to look to the gods for all that he wanted. With the advance of knowledge, prayer and sacrifice assumed the leading part in religious ceremonies, and magic became relegated to the low level of the black art.

Religion, according to Frazer, is the propitiation and the conciliation of powers superior to man, and is believed to direct and control the course of nature in human life. Religion is essentially an invention co-ordinate with the gradual growth in man of the conviction that magic is inefficacious. This is Frazer's theory of religion out of magic. His hypothesis is logical and clear when taken as a thing in itself; but when considered with objective conditions, it violates almost every principle of the psychology of primitive peoples. It seems to have been worked *a priori*. The postulates of magic and religion are largely due to the inertia of habit. Man at all times has been at the mercy of his associations of ideas, and is relieved from their domination only through the development of reflection and critical faculty. Magic and religion according to Frazer, are diverse schemes devised by the primitive man for the manipulation of the world to his advantage. "They are," says King "quite independent of any conscious purpose in their origin, and that far from one's being succeeded by the other, they are coincident,

and develop from different phases of types of man's reaction in this world." The status of magic and religion existing among primitive races is a refutation of Frazer. They exist side by side, nor is one in the hands of the ignorant, and the other in the possession of the more intelligent. Man's generalization was the direct outcome of the physiological processes of habit and of association. "There is no evidence," says King, "that the development is coincident with any decline in man's belief in the reality of magical agencies." Dr. Frazer does not think that prayers and sacrifices succeeded in the long run in turning natural phenomena more largely to man's advantage than did magical practices.<sup>1</sup>

Jevons, in his introduction to the history of religion argues for the originality and independence of religion as far as magic is concerned, and in some way disregards the genetic aspects of the development of experience. Starting with the same assumption as Frazer, religion according to him is based on some sort of an idea of supernatural powers; and he attempts to draw from it opposite conclusions.

"Few questions," says Keane, "are so warmly discussed, as the relation of magic rites and sorcery to elementary religion, some denying any connection whatever, and contending that religion and magic belong to two distinct orders of thought, while those hold with Sydney Hartland that religion is saturated with magic and that it is only in the later development, the one becomes separated from the other. A careful study of the two volumes of the Cochin Tribes and castes will support Mr. Hartland and dispose of the vexed question. All cases of sickness, death, and famine are attributed by the Parayan magician to the anger of Gods to whom offerings may not have been paid in time, perhaps for want of means. When a woman is under demoniacal influence, the Parayan devil-driver and sorcerer mutters some prayers to Parakutty and other deities, ties the sacred thread round the woman's neck, and drinks the toddy supplied for the

<sup>1</sup> King, *Development of Religion*, pp. 165-170.

occasion whereupon the demon is supposed to leave her. In cases of theft, they call in the Parayan wizard who takes a sword with the small bells at the hilt, prays fervently to his favourite deity confident that he will help to recover the stolen property and punish the thief. Here we have the sorcerer performing the functions of the priest or intercessor in his person. In other words religion and magic arts are not merely allied and co-operating, but interwoven inextricably together not at a late but at a very early phase of religious thought. All this undoubtedly establishes the unity of the magical and religious lines of thought which are here clearly seen to be inseparably associated in a single Shamaesthetic system as it may be rightly called.<sup>1</sup>

Though magic is found to fuse and amalgamate with religion in many lands, there are reasons to believe that this fusion is not primitive. The change from magic to religion was gradual. Among the Australian aborigines magic is universal and religion unknown. The belief that Gods also are magicians might have marked the transition from religion to magic. In the Vedic religion, the Gods seem to have attained their power by magical means. In his philosophy of religions Hegel holds that magic aims at controlling nature directly, while religion aims at controlling through the powerful supernatural being or beings to whom man appeals for help and protection. In ancient India the sacrificial ceremonies at the earliest period were full of primitive magic—Vedic texts were saturated from beginning to end with magical practices which were carried on by the sacrificial priests. The sacrifice has all the characteristics of the divinities, effective by its energies and capable of producing evil as well as good. It is hardly distinguished from magic except by being regular and obligatory. It can easily be adapted to different objects, but it exists of necessity independently of circumstances.

“Even witchcraft,” says Bloomfield, “is a part of religion ; it has penetrated and become intimately blended

<sup>1</sup> Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 18-19.

with the holiest Vedic rites. The broad current of popular religion and superstition has infiltrated itself through numberless channels into the higher religion that is presented by the Brahman priests. It may be presumed that the priests were not able to cleanse their own beliefs from the mass of folk belief with which it is surrounded."<sup>1</sup> Some good authorities hold that the very name of Brahman is derived from "Brahman," a magical spell, so that, if they are right, the Brahman would seem to have been a magician before he was a priest.

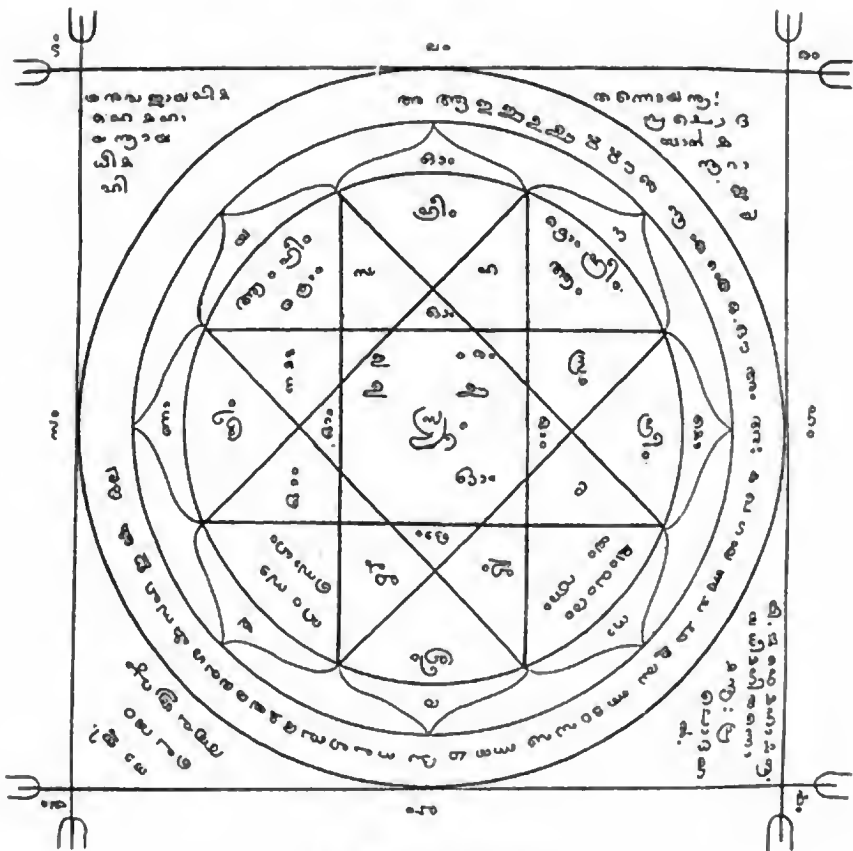
*Magicians.*—The magicians are also called medicine men, sorcerers, wizards, and witches. They may be, according to Frazer, appropriately designated as the inspired or the incarnate type of 'man-god.' They profess to control natural forces and are therefore all-powerful. They transmit their lore to their disciples who may or may not be their sons or nephews. The latter have to undergo a rigorous course of training which tests their character, fortitude and strength. The magicians of the pre-historic ages who manipulated the lower rituals connected with demons and other natural powers had long before the time of the Rigveda developed into the priests who developed a higher cult in which they invoked and sacrificed to Gods. In the later Vedic period of the Yajur Veda, the priest is seen reverting to the role of a magician. In various lesser rites the priest acts quite in the style of prehistoric times. Even in the earliest period of the Rigveda the priest was a magician as well. In the *Atharvana* Veda itself magic is approved when directed against the sacrifice offered by an enemy. The post-Vedic code of Manu expressly states that the magic spells are the weapons of Brahmans against enemies. In the Upanishads the magician priest becomes a philosopher.

<sup>1</sup> Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, p. 14. *Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. XLV.

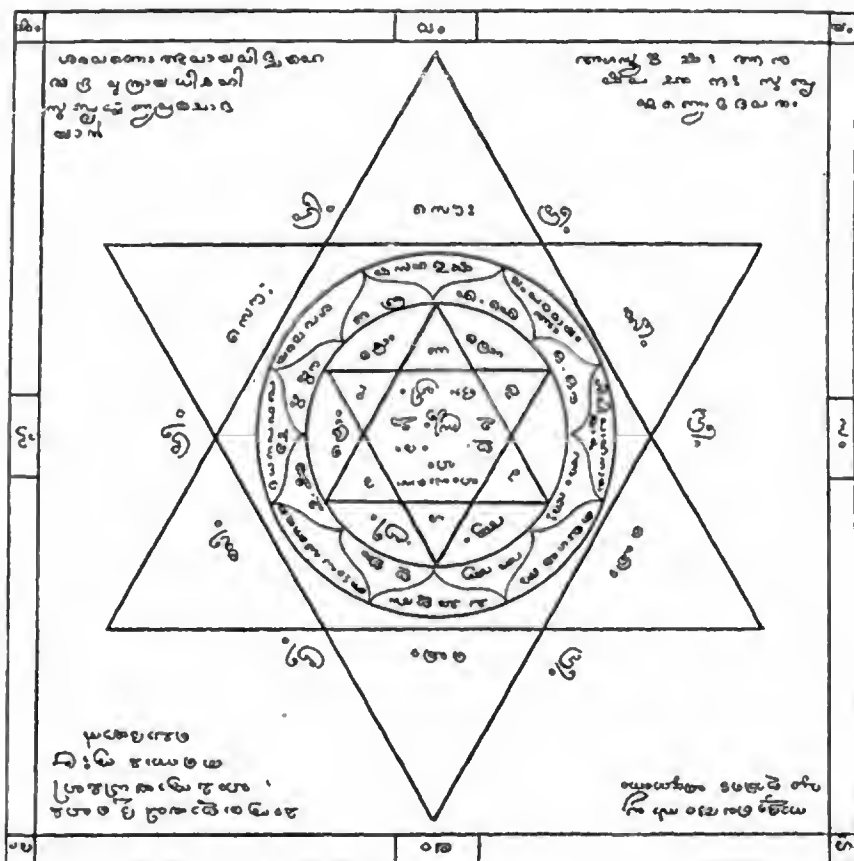


*Magic or Mantravadam.*—Mantrams are, strictly speaking, divinely inspired Vedic texts, and are generally used as prayers or invocations to deities with definite meanings and applications attached to words, which if properly uttered and repeated according to certain rules and phonetics cannot fail to produce the expected results. They are, in themselves supposed to possess mystic powers capable of producing every conceivable good to oneself or evil to one's enemies. It has been said that the Brahmans have to study the Vedas, and practise religious and other rites ordained by the *śrutis* and *Grihya Sūtras*; and proper performance of them with the recital of the Vedic texts or *mantrams* which are only prayers addressed to certain deities, is calculated to bring benefits to the performer and his family, while his indifference or negligence tends to their ruin. Besides the deities mentioned above, there are others of an intermediate class presiding over multifarious maladies, and others again, known as demons, spirits, mischievous imps, and fiends which are ever inclined to do harm to mankind, and should therefore be propitiated with meditations (*japam*), *homam* (incantations), *tharpanam*, and *bhojanam* (food) to Brahmans which are supposed to compel them to obey the commands of the exorciser. In ancient times, Kerala was believed to have been full of these elementals, and tradition refers to Parasurama as having, for the protection of the people, imparted the mysteries of magic or *mantravadam* to the members of two old Nambuthiri families, Kallur and Kāttumādam. The former are versed in *sanmantrams* to be used for good purposes, while the latter are learned in *durmantrams*—or evil mantrams or black art to be used for evil purposes. The members of these families still practise magic as ordained by the great Brahman warrior. Only Brahmans are allowed to study and practise





A Magical Yantram



A Magical Yantram



the magic of the higher order, though professional magicians abound in all castes. Such persons are in constant demand in Hindu families. For, every malady or distress which cannot be rightly diagnosed, is attributed to some one of these supernatural agencies, probably a spirit of the departed male or female, hovering about the house or village and having possessed the patient. The nature of the malady and the particular spirit afflicting the patient is divined by the astrologer, and the magician is invited to exorcise him.

The deities to be propitiated are of two classes, the *sanmūrthis* or benevolent deities who are capable of doing good, and *durmūrthis* or malevolent ones who are ever inclined to do harm. The former consist of Vigneswara, Subramania, Anjeneya, Narasimha and Nāgavati; and the latter Kuttichāthan, the spirit of the departed *préthams*, and other mischievous imps. Each deity has to be invoked by a special *mantram* which to be effective, has to be repeated a number of times, generally 1,000,000 to acquire the necessary powers of success in his art. The best known popular works dealing with the subject are: (1) Prapanchasāram, (2) Prayogasāram, (3) Sāradathilakam, (4) Mantrasāram, (5) Yantrasāram, and (6) Balikalpam. The professional magicians are not learned in these works, but they obtain their knowledge or training of the subject from a *guru* or preceptor or by transmission from a long line of ancestors by a strict observance of the ceremonials with implicit faith in their efficacy coupled with the advice already referred to.

*Mantrams* have always to be repeated after proper understanding, and their significance is of as much importance as the magical force and sound. Every *mantram* appeals to a deity or *dévata* and is connected with a *rishi*. The proper recitation of it depends upon a

certain rule of metre, *Chandas*. Their efficacy is greatly enhanced when used on auspicious days, at particular times and seasons. They should be repeated in the month of *Chaitra* for valour, in *Vaisāka* for jewels, in *Māgha* for intelligence, on Sundays for wealth, on Mondays for tranquillity, on Tuesdays for long life. All intercalary months should be avoided. By the aid of *mantrams* even Gods can be brought under control. *Mantrams* are divided into four classes: (1) *mantrasāra* or the essence of Magic includes—all *mantrams* with their efficacy for good or evil, and the method of learning or reciting them with the aid of the *guru*, or preceptor. *Mantrams* are combinations of the five initial letters of the five sacred elements which produce sounds, but not words. These are believed to vibrate one to the other, and act on latent forces which are there. (2) *Yantrasāra* includes all cabalistic figures, the method of drawing and using them as also the objects to be attained by them. They are drawn on thin plates of gold, silver, copper, or lead. The efficacy of the figures, when drawn on gold will, it is said, last for a century, while those drawn on the less precious metals will be effective for only six months or a year. Leaden plates are made use of when the *mantrams* have to be buried under-ground. These figures should possess the symbols of life,—eyes, tongue, eight cardinal points of the compass, and the five elements. *Bijas* are the mystical letters or the syllables invented for the sake of brevity to denote their root (*moola*) or the essential part of a *mantra* or the name of the deity to whom it is addressed or some part of the body over which that deity presides; for example, *a'm* is said to denote Siva, *um* Vishnu, *hrim*, the sun, *lam* the Earth, *nam* the mind, *dham* tongue, and the Goddess Bhuvaneswari, *Nam* both the Goddess of Annapurna, *gum guru*, and the nose and palm and the ear, etc.

These have to be divided among the deities Ganesa, Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Jivathma, Paramathma, and the Guru in the proportion of 600, 6,000, 6,000, 6,000, 1,000, 1,000, 1,000. A man can become learned in *mantrams* by the regular performance of the recognised ceremonies by learning them from a *guru*, by proper recital of them during the sacred fire (*homams*) and giving food to Brahmans and—*tharpanam* (oblations of water) to deities, *bali* (sacrifice).

*Tantrasara* is the science of symbolical acts with or without words :—1. For a mantram to be efficacious, the following method is recommended. As examples of *yantrams*, the following may be cited in a room specially selected for the purpose ; the *yantram* connected with the deity is drawn on the floor ; in the centre of which is placed a clean bell-metal lamp which is lighted. Sixteen kinds of *pujas* are performed for the deity who is supposed to dwell in the lamp. Close to this is also placed a gold leaf three inches square, and on this is inscribed the diagram with the mystic letters. After necessary *pujas* for a number of days during which the deity is believed to reside in it, the gold leaf rolled and preserved in a small metallic cylinder may be worn round the neck or the loin by tying it to a piece of thread. A man or woman under a demoniacal attack may be made to sit by the side of the lamp, when the exorciser by his *japam* (meditation) or incantation drives out the devil. This is then followed by an invocation of the goddess to quit the lamp.

*Tantrams* which are said to have been composed about the fifth or sixth century A. D. deal with sorcery, and describe several ways of using spells and of acquiring magical powers. They constitute the "The Bible of Saktism," i.e., the worship of the female power 'Sakti' in nature. One of the principal objects of the votaries



of the cult is to obtain supernatural powers through the assistance of the Goddess who represents that power. The votaries therefore seek to gratify her by paying to women the so-called homage of sensual love and carnal appetite and by giving loose to all their grosser passions in total disregard of all social rules and restrictions. The neophyte is initiated into the mysteries of this cult by a competent adept who communicates to him certain mystic texts and syllables more preferably at a moment when the moon, the planets, and the stars are more propitious as during a solar eclipse. The worshippers of the Goddess perform their ceremonial orgies in secret conformity to *tantric* injunctions. These rites consist of the drinking of wine and liquors of various kinds, the eating of meat, and sexual union. With the aid of *Yantrams* in combination with *mantrams*, the Sākta worshippers believe that they can succeed in killing an enemy or transport him to some other place, destroy a whole army, and do a lot of similar other feats. With the blending of two along with the blood of animal sacrificed on a cremation ground, no terrestrial or heavenly power can withstand the terrific power of the charm.

*Conclusion.*—From the account of magic, sorcery and witchcraft described in the preceding pages, it may be seen that their influence on man at one stage of culture was very great. In the early society the king was a magician and a priest, and he gained his power by his proficiency in the black or white art. All along the magician was an intermediary between God and man. The profession of magic was one of the roads by which the ablest men have passed into supreme power. It has, says Frazer, "contributed to emancipate mankind from the thralldom of tradition and to elevate them into a larger, freer life with a broader outlook on the world." It has also paved the

way for science. If black art has done much evil, it has also been the source of much good, the mother of freedom and truth.

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## IX.

### EVOLUTION OF 'TASTE IN DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

It is said that the law of organic development in the animal kingdom, in the life of an individual man, and of the human race consists in seeking after food, then in feeling and lastly in thinking. The nutritive life is the basis upon which depends all the habits of conscious life, but the phenomena of sensitive life show a higher complexity in his organization. Further the energy in man places the genesic wants immediately after the nutritive wants, and from these originate the delicacies of the senses. The desire to look well, *i.e.*, to produce an agreeable impression by decoration to one's taste is not peculiar to man alone. Many animals feel and show the same desire especially during the period of gestation. This fact is very remarkable in birds which know how to make their feathers look glossy and to show themselves off with grace, making the most of their bright colours. Man is the most intelligent of animals, and he has been using artifices of many kinds in order to look well, and it is interesting to study this tendency in the different divisions of the human races. Primitive man was at first in a state of nudity. He then thought of painting and tattooing particularly those parts of the body which would lend themselves to ornamentation. This was the best decoration in its primitive mood, and in the genesis of art, it corresponded to drawing and painting. He then began to modify his shape by mutilations and deformations. With the progress of civilization, he began to clothe himself





Two Maori Women, New Zealand

*From Vincent J. Creguer, F.R.A.I.,  
New Zealand*

more and more, when the outer surfaces on which tattooing would appear were very much lessened, when the mutilations grew less, and were gradually abandoned. During this period the desire for dress manifested itself in jewellery which caused some slight mutilations in head, face and other organs or parts of the body all of which had to be shaped artistically. He had, on this account, to exercise his ingenuity in varying the shape, and in combining different colours.<sup>1</sup> The three aspects in human decoration, namely, painting, tattooing, and clothing, deformations and mutilations which have been more or less found to be co-existing will be noticed here with instances drawn mostly from the manners and customs prevailing among the various castes in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, as also from those in other parts of the world.

*Painting.*—The desire for painting and tattooing is even now very common among the primitive people of every race in all parts of the world, the survivals of which, to a large extent, may be seen even among the members of the higher castes of South India, especially in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. The colour red is usually chosen by the people to paint or decorate themselves with. During the village festivals of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, the Parayans and Pulayans paint their faces in various colours, and dress themselves in fantastic costumes to dance before the deity. They represent the demons and *rakshasas*, reminding one of the early palæolithic and neolithic men. Young women and grown-up girls of the higher castes on ceremonial and other occasions paint their faces red either with vermilion or with turmeric dipped in castor oil. They also paint their palms, fingers, even nails, as

<sup>1</sup> Ludwig Stein, *The Beginnings of Human Civilization*, Leipzig, pp. 74-75.

also the legs and feet red with a coating of the paste made of henna leaves (*Lawsonia inermis*). Further all married young and grown-up Brahman women dye their chins, hands, legs and sometimes their whole body with turmeric. During their bath on the fourth day after menses and during the period in confinement after delivery the women anoint their bodies with gingelly oil, and after cleaning with soap, they rub their bodies with turmeric and then wash themselves in water. The actors of the Malabar dramas bear testimony to the fact that their fantastic paintings of the forehead, chins, nose and eye-lids are still current among the people of low culture.

The custom of painting and adorning the body existed in pre-historic times. In palæolithic dwellings coloured earths were found; and coloured pastes also made by mixing iron rust with reindeer fat were also used for the colouring of the human body. Ludwig Stein remarks "the History of Cosmetics, dated from the days of Biblical antiquity and could be traced back to the man of the ice age." This significant fact throws light upon his individual moral qualities. The palæolithic man probably was not satisfied merely with painting his skin, but he also tattooed his body by means of fine flint knives.<sup>1</sup>

Even in modern times the savages in all parts of the world are fond of showy colours. "The Santhals at a feast," says Sir William Hunter, "are fond of displaying all the colours of the rainbow."<sup>2</sup> The practice of painting the body is said to have existed at the end of the Quarternary and during the Neolithic periods. Redochre was then looked upon as the chief article of decoration. Black and white colours were also mostly in use, because they were esteemed as highly ornamental. Different motives were attributed to this means of adornment. The painting in the early stage of adornment was probably a protection against mosquitoes and other insects, and in a later stage as a means of adornment. In some cases they might be for frightening the enemies in battle. Many savages are said to paint themselves for mourning or to disguise themselves from the ghost of the dead man. Many authorities are of opinion

<sup>1</sup> Ludwig Stein, *The Beginnings of Human Civilization*, Leipzig, pp. 74-75.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 185.

that it is an adornment for sexual attraction and many examples are quoted in support of it.<sup>1</sup>

*Tattooing.*—Next to painting and closely connected with it is the practice of tattooing which is most widespread all over the world both among the savage and the civilized people in pre-historic and historic times. Every visible part of the human body except the eye-ball is subject to it. It was the ambition of the young men to have tattooed faces to attract the fair sex and to appear conspicuous in war. Zandartlchist and others tattoo the foreheads, the eyelids, the ears, nose and even the tip of the tongue. The art is of Polynesian origin, and the word 'tattoo' is derived from 'ta' to 'strike.' It suggests the primitive method of the operation which is caused by beating into the flesh with a fine pointed bone dipped in a mixture which leaves an indelible mark behind. The Polynesians according to Brown tattoo permanently, being urged partly by the courage in endurance of pain caused in the operation, and partly impelled by the desire to be beautiful for ever. It is done to inspire fear in the mind of the enemy. The Maori chiefs invented designs which gave them a most fearful look. In the Wallis island it gave them a mark of valour and dignity. In the islands of the Pacific Ocean it was a mark of decoration. Among the American Indians it indicated the beauty of the fair sex and the good looks of the brave men. According to Macmillan Brown, Polynesian tattooing evokes the mutual attraction of the sexes. The girls were generally tattooed at the age of marriage or at that of puberty. In Samoa it was often associated with licentiousness.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. I, pp. 510-14.

<sup>2</sup> Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. I, Chap. IX, 521.



In every part of India the art of tattooing is practised. Even in the days of Asoka there is evidence to show that the custom was in vogue, for the art is depicted on bas-reliefs. Marco Polo says that even in his days people used to come from Upper India to Zayton to be tattooed. Nicolo Conti writing of the Irawadi valley about the fifteenth century says, "All the inhabitants as well as men and women puncture their flesh with pins of iron, and rub into these punctures, pigments which cannot be obliterated, and so they remain painted for ever." The traveller Tavernier writes of the people of Banjera that their women from their waist upwards tattoo their skin with flowers, and they paint these flowers in diverse colours with the juice of the roots in such a manner as seems as though the skin was a flowered fabric. Among the tribes like the Abors of Assam, tattooing is a mark of dignity, and without the mark no youth is allowed to marry. The intention seems to give additional fierceness to the warrior's appearance. Crook tells us that the disfigurement is carried to such an extent that it gives them an unnatural darkness of complexion, and that fearful look results when a white man blackens his face. Every Gond woman tattoos her legs so far as she allows them to be seen with indigo or gunpowder blue, and the figures that are drawn, constitute the whole decorative art of these people. The wandering tribes have tattoo marks of circular and semi-circular forms on their foreheads and forearms. When they are convicted, they either enlarge or change them in some way or other so as to conceal the previous descriptive marks of identification entered by the police into their search books or other records. The Burmese kings used to apply this art to incorrigible offenders, who were tattooed with a circle on their cheeks or the title of their offence was inscribed on their breast. Some rulers used to



A Primitive Gond Village

*From Raj Bahadur Hira Lal*



order the offender to be led about mounted on an ass with the names of the crimes tattooed in blue upon his forehead. Among the Todas and other tribes of the Nilgiris tattooing is common, and is mostly confined to women who have given birth to one or two children. The designs in some cases are very elaborate. In order to appear beautiful, women of most of the tribes and castes in India tattoo their bodies, and the lower the culture the greater the attachment for this art of decoration. The women of the Cochin hills, Kaders, Malayans, Malcers, and Eravallens as also the low-caste women of the plains profusely tattoo themselves in various figures. Syrian Christians have the sign of the cross on their forearm. Many of the Roman Catholics and Eurasians of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore tattoo on their arms and thighs with the figure of a bird as the emblem of the Holy Ghost. Pulaya women are tattooed on their foreheads with a crescent and a dot.

The women of the higher castes are no exceptions to this decoration, though at present it is not found much in favour with them. Generally women are tattooed in their early youth either before or after their marriage ceremonies. The places selected for the designs are the exposed parts of their body, namely, the forehead, the cheeks, the chin, occasionally the chest, abdomen, arms, legs and hands. The designs vary in different parts of South India, and are mostly flowers ornaments, trees, birds, fish, wild animals, scorpions and the sacred symbols of their gods. The dancing girls of Madras have their initials marked on their arms. According to Hindu traditions, Vishnu is said to have tattooed the hand of Lakshmi with the figure of his weapons, and with that of the sun, moon and the tulsi plant as a protection for her during his wars with demons. It is said that he also promised to protect those who wore the same marks from

all evil influences. Brahman women have some of the following marks in tattoo : a dot or a dot above the crescent or a vertical line on the forehead, a dot on the right cheek or a shank or a circle, dots in clusters or circles, a lotus or the mace of Krishna, a branch of jasmine or plantain tree on the upper arm, the figure of a parrot or a peacock, the figure of a phallic emblem on the chest and the figures of both hands and similar ones on the legs. Low-caste women have fish, spider, parrot or crocodile in tattoo on their chests. The traditional introduction of the custom is more or less connected with the religious beliefs of the people. It is said that Lord Krishna was in the habit of tattooing his own four totems, the *shank* (the conch shell) the *chakra* (wheel), *Gada* (mace) and *padma* (lotus) on the faces and limbs of his wives. The priests of Dwaraka still place certain marks on the arms of the pilgrims to Krishna's shrine. Vaishnavites in South India receive similar branding marks at their initiation. It may be said that the first stage is the primitive branding, and that the second stage of evolution is the process of tattooing, and that the more refined is the stamping of the emblems with seals. The higher the caste and the social position of women, the smaller and fewer are the designs until we reach the Brahman girls among whom are now only three tattoo marks on the face.

Another tradition attributed for tattooing is to Sita, the wife of Rama, and the reason alleged is the belief that tattooing had its origin in the fear of abduction of the women of the primitive races, and the tribal marks among the crude drawings would help them in identification. The tattoo marks are associated with ornaments, religious drawings, charms and symbols which have their origin in sympathetic magic. A practised eye can discriminate the caste and social position of the wearer. A dot on the forehead is a symbol of Lakshmi, the goddess

of wealth, the figure of peacock indicates royalty, and Sita is the emblem of chastity. The fish is the symbol of fertility and good luck. Comb is the symbol of happy married life.

In Malabar and Cochin, tattooing which is known as *pacha kuthuka* or pricking with green is thus done. Turmeric powder and *agathikira* (leaves of *Testonia grandis-flora*) are reduced to a paste, and the mixture is spread on a thin cloth and rolled up in the form of a wick which is placed in a lamp charged with castor oil. The wick is lighted and the lamp covered with a new earthen pot on the inside of which the soot is deposited. This is collected and mixed with woman's milk or water. Instead of *agathikira* and *karuteppila* (*Agrestis senaris*) green parts of *cynodon dactylon* or *karisáram gani* or *Ecliptica Alba* may also be used in the preparation of wick. Sometimes pigments are prepared from the soot of cooking utensils or soot mixed with ashes of burnt tobacco, and the juice of baul tree, indigo is used for blue dots, and vermilion for red ones. The tattooing is done by Kákkálan women (Kákkalathies) and their pricking instruments usually consist of three or more needles tied together with a thread to perform the operations. The pattern is selected from a bundle of drawings, and is first traced on the skin with a small pointed stick dipped in the prepared ink which is pricked in with needles. The part is then well-washed in cold water, and a coat of ink rubbed over the surface. To allay the pain a little of cocoanut oil is applied. A small quantity of turmeric powder is also added to brighten the colour and prevent swelling. The Kákkálan women are very clever in executing complicate designs and patterns with which they are from long practice very familiar. They will also tattoo any form shown to them. The Burmese patterns are said to be very artistic, varied and complicated. The tattooer's fee is said to range from an

anna for a dot to a line to twelve annas for a complex design. In villages the payment is made in kind, and sometimes the present of a measure of paddy is the usual remuneration. It is said that some of these substances used in the operations were known to the ancient doctors of India, and this led to the suggestion, that the custom has been recorded of persons tattooed on their chests and shoulders with the object of getting rid of pain.

Painting and tattooing of the body are regarded as a primitive stage of clothing and the coloration of the skin in the operation is a means of allurements. That the tattooed man is more beautiful and worthy object of desire may be seen from the numerous instances already given. It is also believed that in primitive man there is a close connection between love of colour and sexual impulse.

*Scarification.*—Closely associated with tattooing is scarification, the ethnical distribution of which depends upon the colour of skin. Just as tattooing has spread among the fairer peoples, so has scarification found its way among the dark-skinned. "Warriors make scars on their bodies to record the number of enemies they have slain in battle.<sup>1</sup> Scars are used as tribal marks, as a remedy for illness, as prophylactic charms, as mourning tokens or an expression of grief." It is also practised by the South American Indians to get rid of the evil spirits that have entered into the body. Throughout the Australian continent the scarification marks serve the purpose of adornment. In Fiji, Samoa and the Solomon islands they are meant to be ornamental. Among the natives of North Queensland the process of scarring the body was always practised, the cuts being made with sharp flint or some pointed instrument. The latter is a glass chip when procurable. A deep wound is ordinarily made into the flesh

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. I, Chap. XII, pp. 525-27.

and the blood is allowed to coagulate. The wound is thus allowed to fester, and after a time it is rubbed with fat, charcoal and bits of pigwood plant. Scars are thus made all over the body.

*Deformations and Mutilations.*—In the lowest stage of human development, when man is more or less like a brute, he has no thought to modify the shape of his body for the sake of adornment or for any other purpose. The Australians pull out some of their incisor teeth from the upper jaw. The Kadars of the Cochin forests chip all or most of their incisor teeth in the upper and lower jaw in the form of sharp-pointed but not serrated cones. The Australians and Melanesians pierce the septum of the nose for the purpose of introducing a bony stick. The Paapuans of both sexes of New Guinea introduce into it an ornament cut out of a shell six inches long and decorated with circular red lines. Nose boring of girls is a ceremony among most of higher Hindu castes all over India, and the boring of the septum also takes place during the third or fourth year of girls for wearing an ornament. Next in importance are the auricular perforations which are used for various purposes. It is said that a Papuan puts his cigar into the hole he has bored in the ear. In ethnography it is often a surprise to find the same custom in vogue among people, who widely differ in race, language, and relationship. This fact is proved when we find that different people have mutilated and deformed themselves for what they have imagined to be for æsthetic grounds. Few ornaments are used all over the world, not excepting, it is said, even Europe of the nineteenth century, and the love of æsthetic beauty has prompted men and women of all classes to bore their ears in early childhood. With the Hindus the ear-boring has become one of the sacraments, and the ear-boring ceremony takes place among the Brahmans



and other higher castes on an auspicious day in the third or fifth year. The ears of the child are bored with a needle or knife having a triangular blade which penetrates through half an inch of its length. Both the ears are thus bored, and a little cottonwool is placed in the wounds to keep the cut portions dilated by means of lead weight or by the insertion of a wooden plug. The ear holes of the Syrian Christian and low caste Hindu girls are thus dilated with heavy lead rings, until they are fourteen years of age when the ideal of beauty, so far as the ears are concerned, will have been attained. In some cases the ear lobes either alone or with the pendants will reach down to the shoulders on each side. This is a perfection which reminds one of the men of New Guinea, the lobes of whose ears are so far dilated as to form large pendant rings of skin through which it is possible to pass the arms. Many are the holes bored on the sides for wearing small rings by the women of Jonakan Mappillas in Cochin as in Malabar dilated ear lobes are the fashion among the women of all classes. It is now on the road to decline. The love of æsthetic beauty has also prompted many people to disfigure their lips. The worshippers of Subramania and Venkatesa of Therupathi often pierce their chins for the insertion of a wire as a vow to maintain silence. Instances of cranial deformations, and the pulling of the noses of babies to the requisite shape are met with among some of the South Indian castes. There is also another kind of mutilation, namely, circumcision which must have been based on hygienic grounds. It is the most 'widely spread of all the mutilations of the sexual organs.' It prevails among the Muhammadan peoples, among most of the West African tribes, among the Kaffirs and the tribes of East Africa, among the Abyssinians, Bogos and Copts. It is also practised in Australia, in many of the islands of Melanesia,

in the Indian Archipelago as also in parts of America. The Jews also are circumcised. It is said to be performed when the boy attains manhood. It is also a preliminary to marriage. Various explanations are given. The Muhammadans regard it as 'cleansing.' By circumcision the boy becomes clean, and is fit to perform religious exercises of praying and entering the mosque. Ploss Renz says that it 'makes the boy a man by giving him the appearance of sexual maturity, and by making him capable of procreation.' Among the savages it is regarded as a means of sexual attraction.<sup>1</sup>

*Jewellery.*—The taste for jewellery and bright coloured clothing is the last stage in a man's love for dress and belongs to human nature as low down as we can follow it. The practice of mutilation and painting disappears much sooner than the love for painting. It is also possible that all these customs may exist at the same time, some mutilations at any rate are necessary for the purpose of increasing the jewellery for the ears, nose, and the lips. At first man was content with shells, teeth, bony fragments worked in various ways, coloured and wrought stones pierced through and then joined together by means of strings. As soon as metals were known, he was found to decorate with copper, iron, bronze, silver and gold. This jewellery coarse as it may appear to a civilized man continues to civilize the savage. Man and woman wear it in emulation of each other, and the former at the outset are much more richly adorned than the latter. Everywhere since the age of stone, man has found pleasure in wearing necklaces and bracelets, and in similar ones for the arms and legs. With the advance of civilization the jewellery became smaller and more artistic. They were worn in profusion both by man and woman, and every part of the

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. I, Chapter XVI, pp. 561-64.

body exposed had some ornament or the other for decoration. It is very seldom that an ordinary Hindu married woman will appear in public without wearing the following eight ornaments, namely, nose-rings or nose-screw, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, armlets, finger rings, anklets and toe rings. It is said that the use of them was prophylactic before they became ornamental. It is shown by the fact that they were meant to guard the orifices exposed to the entry of spirits. Among the jungle tribes leaves, flowers, fruits, berries of sacred trees took their place, and to them were added bones, teeth, and horns of animals.

*Clothing.*—Clothing is said to have originated in the decorative impulse. The three functions of clothing are protection, ornament and self-feeling, and as Ratzel says, it is difficult to say where clothing ends and ornament begins. The former according to him stands in an unmistakeable relation to sexual life. The first and most primitive form of clothing was to cover exposure the original purpose of what was adornment, not concealment. At a subsequent stage it was also thought that this wonderful demoniacal region should be concealed and protected from the potency of evil eye. Both the ideas are ethnologically demonstrable. "Waitz, Schurz and Letourneau propounded the theory that the jealousy of the primitive man was the primary ground of clothing and was indirectly the cause of the sense of shame.<sup>1</sup>" This view is supported by this fact in many races, and the married women are dressed, while the unmarried girls go about naked. "Further the married woman is the property of the husband, to whom clothing is a protection against glances at his property." To unclothe the wife is dishonour to him. When the idea of relationship was extended between the father and the unmarried daughters ;

<sup>1</sup> Iwan Block, *The Sexual Life of Our Time*, p. 138.

these latter also were dressed. Thus the idea of chastity and the feeling of shame were developed.”<sup>1</sup>

Girdle is the point of departure in the evolution of dress. The civilized idea of the girdle is to tighten the skirt or trousers. The earliest one is a piece of string made of grass or vegetable fibre, worn neither very tight nor very loose. It is the male appendage of a savage who needs it to carry his superfluous articles. The wearing of a girdle or waist band has given rise to a formal ceremony at which a baby male or female has to be invested with a band in gold or silver at the expense of a girl's parents. The girdle and the band have contributed to a dual system of clothing, and from them has developed a fertile field for the activity of “fashion.” As regards the primitive form of loin dress, the use of leafy garments in tropical countries has been widespread. The jungle tribes all over India, and the Indo Chinese peninsula had the leafy dress supplied to them by their husbands every morning. Next comes the loin dress in bark cloth worn by the natives of the Brazilian forests, Kayans of Borneo, and the Polynesians ‘who have carried to perfection the manufacture of tapa from the bark of paper mulberry.’<sup>2</sup> The skin garments were worn by the American Indians who knew how to prepare them. Suits of leather are still worn in Mexico. Coming on to historic period the ordinary costume of man in South India is much simpler than that in any other part, for he is little subject to vicissitudes of climate to provide against. While at work agricultural labourers, tree climbers, fishermen wear only a shred of clothing. The better classes wear the clothing that is possible. With them the upper part of the body is usually exposed to the air, but if not over the shoulder round the neck,

<sup>1</sup> Havelock Ellis, pp. 46-52.

<sup>2</sup> E. B. Tylor, *Anthropology*, p. 244

a second cloth is worn. The principal garment worn by the better classes is the *dhotti* fastened round the waist extending more or less to the feet. There is also another to cover the upper part of the body. The young men of the upper classes wear shirts, coats and trousers over the body with a cap, turban or hat to cover the head.

The dress of the women in its component parts, closely resembles that of the men. Among the members of the low castes of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, the wearing of a loin cloth and a small one to cover the chest and abdomen is quite common. The Nayar women wear an inner garment round the loins, and this is covered by an outer one which is usually two and a half yards in length. Sometimes instead of two one sufficiently long is worn. Their dress is white and sufficiently decent to cover the lower part of the body. A small upper cloth serves as a covering above the waist. The latter is now substituted by a jacket and a piece of fine cloth over it. It is curious to notice that this form of dress has not till recently found favour with the Nambuthiris, their landlords, to whom they owe a kind of allegiance or subordination. The absence of a covering for the ordinary woman of Malabar has drawn much ridicule, and their customs have been, to a certain extent misunderstood by the foreigners. So far from being immodest, it is looked upon by the people themselves in exactly the opposite light. For among them only prostitutes cover the breasts. A custom has in it nothing indecent, when it is universal as one of the travellers philosophically remarks (Dall). It is in fact, a sign of disrespect to one's own elders, for either a female or a male of the Nayar caste, and the members of all caste below it, to cover the upper part of the body, and the traces of the same custom are also found among other Dravidian tribes, who are anything but civilized. Out of

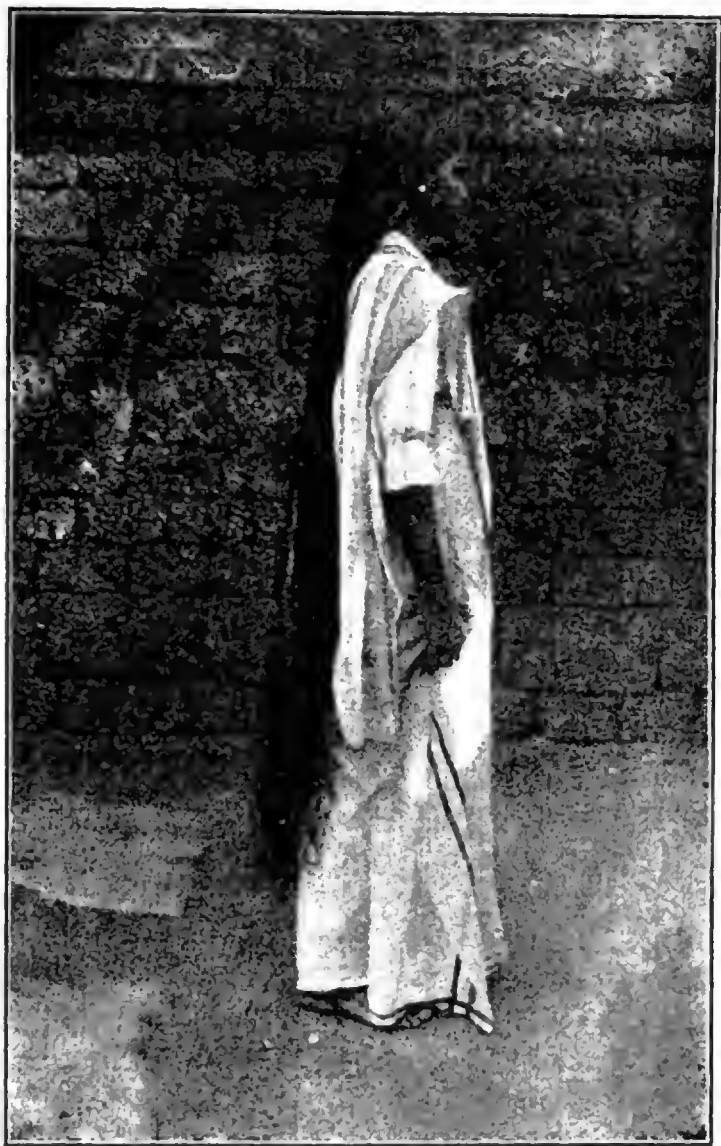
respect for the elders one has to remove one's cap, shoes, when one meets the elders even in the middle of a road. Until 1865 it was forbidden by law for women of the Chóvans and other castes to wear any clothing above the loins. The present generation of the above classes except perhaps the servants and the poor have begun to use the upper garment and the jacket in the same way as the males now use the upper garment. Children of both sexes go about naked wearing a long strip of areca palm to cover exposure. Living under the scorching sun, it is not in the nature of man in India to cover the head. The turban is of modern use and borrowed from the Muhammadans. Tamil Brahman women wear one piece of coloured cloth varying in length from eight to ten yards, and in width from one yard to a yard and a half. The cloth is usually coloured and embroidered with silk borders. The ordinary manner of wearing the cloth is as follows:—one end is gathered up into folds, and held together on the left side of the loin, while the rest of it is passed between the legs to be tucked up behind rather tightly, and the remaining portion, after twice or thrice passing round the loin is carried over the right shoulder after covering the breast. A bodice is worn underneath the *sari*. The dress of girls has undergone considerable changes. They wear *pāvadas* and jackets. Women of different castes have slightly different methods of tying the cloth. Wedding garments in all castes are rather costly, and intensified by personality. It is an occasion of expansion and augmentation, as the social expression of the crisis of love, it is specially adapted. "The bridal pair assumes superhumanity and are treated as royal persons. "Magnificence is the characteristic of the wedding garments throughout the world. White colour is the expression of virginity. Red is often an adaptation to the circumstances of expansion." Wedding dress among the

Hindus is red or yellow or red both of which are supposed to repel demons. Inversion of the wedding costume at wedding is supposed to possess a magical influence.

*Hair-dressing.*—Men of most of the castes in South India shave the hair on the head and face at regular intervals. A small portion of it, left uncut either on the top or the back of the head is called the *kudumi* which is removed only under certain circumstances. The *kudumi* is usually worn on the back of the head in South India, and the tuft that is tied into a knot is often large enough. Very often it enhances the beauty of the person, while in North India it is so small as to be scarcely distinguishable. The inhabitants on the west coast leave an oval patch, and the tuft is tied into a knot on the top of their heads. There are also men who allow the hair on the head to grow. The jungle tribes, some sections of the agrestic serfs, and priests of the low caste men, do not, as a rule, shave their heads, but allow their hair to run wild. Various are the forms of the knots into which the tufts of hair on the head are tied in various parts of India, and they are indispensable in all ceremonies. Tonsure is a sacrament performed for a boy during his third year, and the arrangement, *i.e.*, the tuft of hair to be grown is in accordance with the custom of the family.<sup>1</sup> There is now a growing tendency on the part of young men to have the hair on the head so cropped, that it is not possible to determine the caste to which an individual belongs. The members of a few castes shave their heads complete.

Women generally have long black and luxuriant hair which they tie into a knot either on the back or in some cases on the right side of the head. The women of Malabar like those of Bengal take special care to

<sup>1</sup> *Avalayana-Grihyasutra*, 1. 16, pp. 184-86.



A young Nayar Woman with long tuft of hair





preserve and promote the growth of hair with the aid of scented and medicated oils. The wearing of the hair long, tied into a knot at the back of the head nearly after the manner in which the women wear their hair is the ancient usage of the Tamil people. It may be said to indicate respectability, and it has reached the lower classes.

*Psychology of modesty and clothing.*—As has been mentioned above, the people of Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore are generally sparing in their dress. The dress of the low caste men and women is very scanty. This has provoked criticism from the people of other parts of the presidency. It may be of interest in this connection to discuss certain points bearing on the psychology of modesty and clothing. "Modesty which may be provisionally defined as an almost instinctive fear prompting to concealment, and usually centering around the sexual processes, while common to both sexes is more peculiarly feminine, so that it may almost be regarded as the chief secondary sexual character of women on the psychological side. The woman who is lacking in this kind of fear, is lacking, also in sexual attractiveness to the normal and average man. The apparent exceptions seem to prove the rule, for it will generally be found that the women who are, not immodest (for immodesty is more closely related to modesty than mere negative absence of the sense of modesty), but without that fear which implies the presence of a complex emotional feminine organisation to defend, only make a strong sexual appeal to men who are themselves lacking in the complementary masculine qualities."<sup>1</sup> No satisfactory theory of the origin of modesty has been advanced. The assumption, that men were ashamed because they were

<sup>1</sup> Havelock Ellis. *The Evolution of Modesty*, p. 1.

naked and clothed themselves to hide their nakedness, is not tenable in face of the vast amount of evidence that many of the natural races and forest tribes in South India are naked, and not ashamed of their nakedness. A much stronger case can be made out for the opposite view that clothing was first worn as a mode of attraction, and modesty was then attached to the act of the removal of clothing. But this view in turn does not explain an equally large number of cases of modesty among races that wear no clothing at all. A third theory of modesty, the disgust theory expounded by Prof. James, and subsequently developed to a certain extent by Havclock Ellis, makes modesty the outgrowth of our disapproval of immodesty in others. This is the application to ourselves of judgments primarily passed upon our mates.

We are aware that emotions as modesty and shame are associated with actions which injure and shock others. They are violations of modes of behaviour which have become habitual in one way or another. Approvals and disapprovals are set up in groups. When once a habit is set up, interference with its smooth running causes an emotion, and we feel upset. Modesty has a twofold measuring in sexual life. In appearance it is an avoidance of sexual attention. It is also a real avoidance. A modest behaviour is charming, but too much of it is prudery. A wholesale unsettling of habit is seen, when a lower culture is impinged upon the higher. There are numerous cases where clothing and ornament are not associated with feelings of modesty. Cases of modesty without clothing, and clothing without modesty co-exist. Clothing and ornaments are nevertheless the effective means of drawing the attention of persons, sometimes by concealing and sometimes by exposing it.

The most suggestive use of clothing is just the use of a sufficient amount to the person without concealing

it. Where habits are set up, and are running smoothly, attention is withdrawn. Nakedness also was a habit in unclothed societies, as it is in the artistic model. When dress becomes habitual in a society sense of modesty has also developed to a high degree. Thus the ideas of modesty vary in every country, and change in different periods of time. In many cases belief in magic has a great deal to do with such customs.

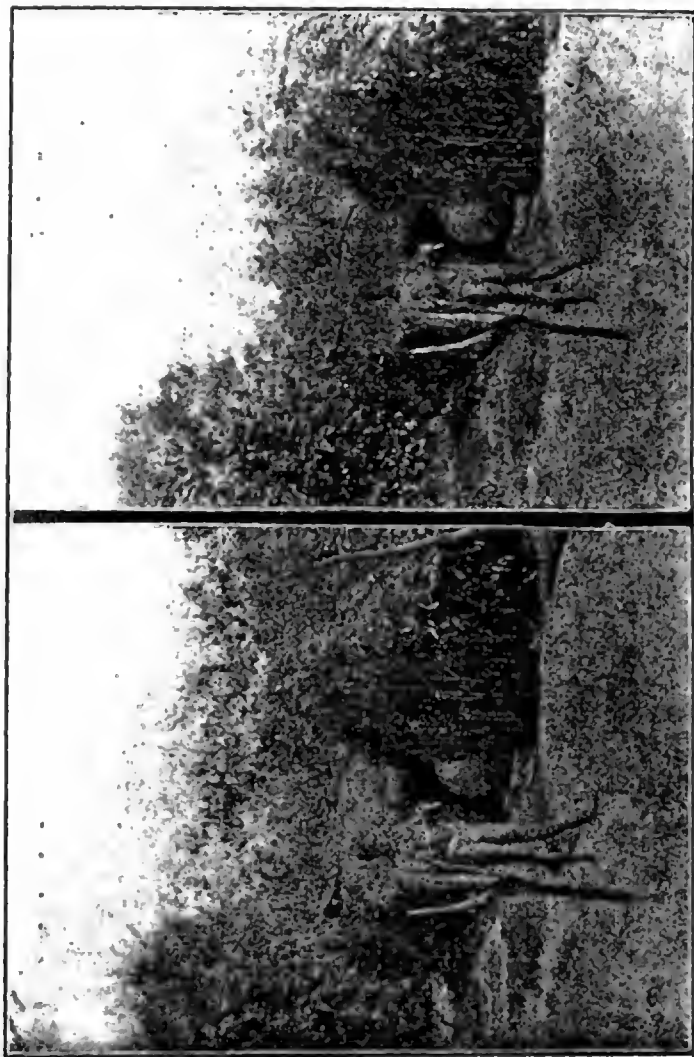
*Psychological Influence of Familiarity with Nakedness.*—In ancient times in Greece, women at one time practised gymnastic feats and dances in nakedness, together with men, or in their presence. Plato in his Republic approved of such customs, and said that the ridicule of those who laughed at them was but "unripe fruit plucked from the tree of knowledge." He advocated the same opinion in the Laws which were the last outcome of his philosophic reflection in his old age. The Romans who were a more "coarse-grained people than the Greeks" showed no perception of the moralizing and refining influence of nakedness. Nudity to them was merely a licentious indulgence, to be treated with contempt even when it was enjoyed. The strict avoidance of even the sight of the flesh was advocated and insisted upon when Christianity absorbed the whole of the European world. It was allowed "thoroughly and completely only in the cloister." Only in the 19th century, the views above expressed began to change. Rousseau in France and Blake in England "proclaimed the mystical gospel which involved the spiritual glorification of the body and contempt for the civilised worship of clothes. Later on in America, Thoreau and Whitman and Burroughs asserted, still more definitely, a similar message concerning the need of returning to nature." The educationists who view the matter to-day are aware of the sanitary and sexual consideration regarding the claims of nakedness as a part equally for a

physical and moral hygiene. The free contact of the naked body with air, water and light contributes to the health of the body. "Familiarity with the sight of the body abolished petty pruriencies, trains the sense of beauty, and makes for the health of the soul. This double aspect of the matter has undoubtedly weighed greatly with those teachers who now approve of the customs, which, a few years ago, would have been hastily dismissed as indecent."<sup>1</sup>

Modesty is not only the natural impulse which has to be considered in relation to the custom of nakedness. It seems probable that, in the cultivation of the practice of nakedness, we are not merely carrying out a moral and hygienic prescription; but allowing legitimate scope to an instinct which, at some periods of life, especially in adolescence is spontaneous and natural, even it may be wholesomely based in the traditions of the race in sexual selection. There are three ways in which the cultivation of nakedness so far as it is permitted by the slow education of public opinion tends to exert an influence. "(1) It is an important element in the sexual hygiene of the young, introducing a wholesome knowledge and incuriosity into a sphere once given up to prudery and pruriency. (2) The effect of nakedness is beneficial on those of more mature age, also in so far as it tends to cultivate the sense of beauty and to furnish the tonic and consoling influences of natural vigour and grace. (3) The custom of nakedness has a dynamic psychological influence on morals, an influence exerted in the substitution of a strenuous and positive morality for the merely negative and timid morality which has ruled in this sphere.<sup>1</sup> The spectacle of nakedness has its moral value in teaching us to learn to enjoy what we do not possess, a lesson which is an essential part of the training for any kind of fine social life.

<sup>1</sup> Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. VI, pp. 95-106.

<sup>1</sup> Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. VI, p. 110.



A Primitive Hut



*Conclusion.*—From the foregoing account it may be seen, that the various forms of dress and ornaments of the primitive people were adopted for the purpose of protection, adornment and feeling. It is also said that the original purpose of clothing was adornment, and the fashions arising therefrom were for mutual attraction. The sense of shame and modesty is not innate in man and woman, but is merely a product of modern civilization. The modern fashion is a child of modern civilization, and has resulted in capitalism. It has wiped out the older forms by the introduction of new ones. Nudity in itself is harmless, and has its advantages, but when it is intentional, it has the effect of lascivious stimulation. Prudery is nothing more than looking at modesty with concealed lustful feelings.

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## X.

### VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN SOUTH INDIA.

*Introduction.*—It is a fact almost known to everybody that the primitive village must have been the parent of the earliest form of the later city, which is invariably built round a centre, the site of the original market place and temple. By a close observation of the locality round which the village is built, we find indubitable evidence as to the country from which it has originated. In South India the village of the aboriginal tribes is invariably well arranged, so that the sacred grove in which the trees of the primeval forests still remain is the home of the local gods. In doing this, we have to fix our initial starting point in a very early age of human history, for we find everywhere the remains of villages probably of the neolithic age; but the people living in them have reached a fairly advanced stage of civilization, for they grew cereals, millets, possessed cattle, sheep and goats and cultivated fruit trees. It must also be assumed that these villages were all founded on the same system of communistic property of land, which was the distinguishing form of land tenure. The original system on which these villages were founded, must therefore have been elaborated by a forest people. It also follows that agriculture was systematically practised on a large scale, in the forest lands on a communal basis, which was afterwards followed by re-distribution of them at various intervals, due of course to the evolution of private property as a result of effective occupation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Hewitt, : The Pre-Aryan Communal Village in India.

*Primitive village. Its origin and growth.*—The term village is used in various senses, and much depends upon the constituent elements. Originally it must have consisted of a group of families based on kinship or common descent which was in course of time forgotten. It is also held that two types of villages, one possessing land in collective ownership, and the other with independent holdings have existed at a remote period. The latter is in all probability an evolution of the former. It is also held, that a distinct existence of a type of Indian village with the joint ownership, cannot be proved to be a feature either of the past or the present. It is said that the earliest villages in India were those founded by the Dravidian races, the dolicho-cephalic Australoids who called themselves the sons of the tree, and are now represented by the Gonds, and their Indian cognates some of whom still use the boomerang. These people made the village, and not the family their national unit. They also held that parents of children should ever belong to the same village, and the children should be brought up by the mothers and maternal uncles, and they should therefore be regarded as the children of the village. Thus each village was ruled by the mothers and maternal uncles of the children born in it. It is impossible to determine accurately whether the original founders of the first Indian villages were a homogeneous race or not; for the unity of the race was, as already mentioned, both improbable and impossible; and almost all the low castes of Southern India were, and are even now, ready to admit any one of higher social standing than themselves into the caste, if he complies with the custom of the tribe. In spite of the absence of any definite information as to race, it is probable that the first tribes who laid the foundation for an organised society must have been the later neolithic people or the

Dravidians who had, either alone or by long association, developed a distinct type of humanity; the most distinctive marks of which may still be seen in the survivals of the physical types of their descendants even after complete miscegenation during the long lapse of ages. When we carefully study the manners and customs of the people in the villages, we find that they all go back to the matriarchal stage of society organised by the Dravidians at the bottom of the list. It is to these people and their maternal ancestors, the Dravidians, that we have to look for the original Indian village. They must have begun their life as a race of hunters at first, subsequently betaking themselves to agriculture after a gradual clearing of forests. It is said that "The race flourished in Central and Southern India in the early stone age counting, ages before the Vedas were written," and it was the growing of rice which led to the formation of permanent villages first among the matriarchal races, and afterwards among the united races.<sup>1</sup>

*Racial Elements in the Village Community.*—It has been said that three distinct races in India took part in the formation of the Indian village community. They were the Mongoloid, the Dravidian and the Aryan races. To the first of these belonged the Kolarian tribes of Western Bengal and Central India, to the second, the Dravidian tribes who speak Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam, and the Gonds, Khonds, and Oraons, who speak the cognate dialects, and to the third, the various tribes composing the Aryan race. The distinct features of the Kolarian race may thus be summed up:—(1) "Organisation by the totem; (2) Occupation of forest clearings; (3) Settlement under a non-hereditary chief, election of clan chiefs, tribal and clan priests;

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Hewitt, *The Pre-Aryan Communal Village in India.*





A Primitive Village

*From Rai Bahadur Hira Lal*

(4) Territorial division of the tribe and clans ; (5) Independent houses ; (6) Clan deities of the forest ; (7) Government by a Council ; (8) Ignorance of the plough and objection to cattle as food.”<sup>1</sup> Those of the Dravidians are :—(1) Tribes as totemistic groups ; (2) Settlement on the model of camps under a king as general-in-chief with subordinate chiefs for the outlying parts to guard the frontiers ; (3) Territorial division into *parhás* ; (4) The distribution of families in village streets or in compounds with a few huts, without gardens or orchards ; separation of young men and girls from their parents in every village for settlement in separate lodgings called the bachelor’s and maid’s halls, under the care of one of the elders and matrons of the village ; (5) Worship of the village-God with offerings ; (6) The central Government to receive contributions from each village ; (7) The privileges of the descendants of the men who formed the village.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the distinguishing features of the Dravidian villages show a strong central Government, great advance towards territorial settlements and boundaries, the redistribution of village land at the time of admission of a new village, and imposition of dues or payments for the purposes of Government. From an Ethnographical standpoint, there is not much difference between the two races, Kolarian and Dravidian. Both are based on a tribal organisation, and their chief characteristic in the history of the village community in India is their power of amalgamation within the bounds of the village system. The amalgamation thus produced did not alter the principle of social organisation. The village, before the advent of the Dravidian, was the same unit as the village

<sup>1</sup> Gomme, *The Village Community*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-29.

after its absorption of the newcomers. The internal structure had to be knit together, and the external shell was still the village.<sup>1</sup>

The village community is a primitive institution of the backward races, and a subordinate one of the civilized nations of the world. It is also suggested that the latter is a survival of the former. The agricultural practices in the primitive village community were of immemorial usage. The traditional methods of agriculture like traditional methods of belief, are valuable to the study of ethnology. They reveal the activities and achievements of the primitive man. Among them may be mentioned the shifting of the cultivation site season after season, the felling of trees for the clearing of forests, for the cultivation of food-stuffs, and the selection of a fresh site for cultivation as the soil shows signs of deterioration. At the arrival of the season for cultivation, the arable land of the village is divided among the occupants. There are also lands appropriated by the prevailing custom among the village officers, namely, the accountant, the village watchman, the village carpenter and the blacksmith. The villagers were also assisted by three classes of servants, namely, slaves who were transferred with other privileges of the village occupants, secondly, bonds-men who might have mortgaged themselves and who could redeem themselves or work out their bondage, thirdly, hired labourers. All these classes were supported by allowances of grain and presents of cloth for clothing and the benefits of gleanings and the sweepings of the threshing floor. They were also given small plots of ground for gardens, and presents on marriage occasions and births in their families. The stranger settlers did not possess any portion of the shares already referred to, nor cultivate any portion of the land set apart for them. They were,

<sup>1</sup> Baden Powell: *The Indian Village Community*, pp. 161-170.







Primitive Agriculture in a Village, Vizagapatam District

at the early stage, a community by themselves, and had to pay a fee of superiority to the original settlers of the village. The component parts of the village community may thus be classified under the following heads, the hereditary villagers, priests, the village officers, the bondsmen, hired labourers and the stranger settlers. Thus a distinction was made between the original and stranger settlers.<sup>1</sup>

*Aryan influence on early village communities.*—It is said that the Aryans who entered India were almost a pastoral people. Their wealth consisted of cattle, and they looked upon agriculture and trade as degrading. Their earliest laws forbade these occupations to the first two classes, the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas. It is said that, in the Laws of Manu, agriculture is blamed by the virtuous, for the plough with iron point injures the earth, and the beings in it. Their object at first was probably to find a country with open plains for their cattle, with abundant grain cultivated by a class of people of the alien race. Such a country was found in the plains of the Punjab, where they settled and composed the Vedic hymns. Their chief objects were probably the protection of their families from the original inhabitants, and the performance of sacrifices to the gods whom they adored. It was for this purpose that the early codes of laws were composed for the religious performances in each family. The most essential of them were: (1) The ritual of the daily sacrifice offered by the head of the family to the gods and the ancestors, (2) the maintenance of the sacred fire kindled at the wedding in the family, (3) the conduct of the student and priests of the sacred law, (4) the preservation of purity, and the avoidance of marriage with alien races. The Aryans did not at once settle down in the country in village communities, but introduced the idea of sacred rights in the family,

and superimposed upon a strongly organised economic system, a strongly organised system. Within the framework of the original Dravidian villages, the Aryan race governed a body of cultivators. One of the most significant facts of the race history of the village community in India is that the boundaries of townships are preserved with the greatest care, and are often under the charge of the aboriginal tribe, the Parayans of the Madras Presidency, whose forefathers fixed them.<sup>1</sup>

The Aryan clans were founded on common kinship, attached to the soil, and the whole community was known to the state by the amount of revenue paid to the sovereign. They divided among themselves the produce of the land, and were exempted from the payment of the revenue granted at the commencement of the organization of the village. They had the labour of the village officers, namely, the carpenter, blacksmith, potter, washerman, watchman, barber, herdsman, distributor of water, all free of any personal charge. They thus stand forth before the world and in their own eyes as free villagers, independent alike of national laws and national economy self-governing and self-supporting.

In his "Aryan Rule in India," says Mr. Havell, "the non-Aryan system of primitive agriculture was purely empirical at the outset. "These primitive village communities were loosely knit together by tribal customs and motives of self-interest without any capacity for self-improvement. From the study of primitive Dravidian Sociology in aboriginal Indian tribes of the present day, we gather what part Dravidian Institutions took in the formation of the Indo-Aryan village system. The indigenous Dravidian system was probably the foundation upon which the Indo-Aryan economic superstructure was built. The Dravidian tribesmen were originally nomad hunters living in the forests and their social system was matriarchal. The mother and their children formed the nucleus of a settled society. The fathers were the hunters of different tribes whose occupation of

<sup>1</sup> Havell, *The History of Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 11, 13.

supplying food for the common meals kept them away from the village."<sup>1</sup> The young men and unmarried girls of the same village had separate quarters, the survivals of which are even now to be seen in the typical families of Nayars, Ambalavasis and the Nambathiris.

"All the tribal social customs, including marriage were on a communal basis—the children were the offspring of the intercourse which took place when the young men and women of different tribes met and danced together in the forest glades at festivals of the seasons. In the most settled communities, the Dravidian mother added to the common food supplies by collecting edible roots, and forest produce, which could be found near the village, and began a regular system of cultivation in the perfection of which they were helped, according to tradition, by the friendly teaching of Aryan Rishis who had retired to the peaceful seclusion of the forests for meditation. The agricultural lands of which the Dravidian tribes thus became possessed, were also communal property held in turns by different groups of cultivators, according to the redistribution made periodically at the village meetings."

"The respective duties of the mothers and of the able-bodied men in this ancient communal system were thus well defined. The fathers had little concern with the affairs of the children."

"All the men and women of the tribe were as brothers and sisters. The men of the village were skilful hunters, and had their share in the communal life. When the children grew old, they took charge of their education, and taught them all the laws of the forest, the habits of the wild denizens, the use of the weapons of the chase, and the traditional laws and customs of the tribe. The village grove, where the children were taught and where the elders discussed the affairs of the community, became the school and the temple of the tribe."

Thus every village was more or less a little social organism self-governed, and had its police and courts of justice. Its members shared among them the public expenses. In course of time, the village system described above led to a kind of social despotism and then to an autocracy. A wife taken by force became the property

<sup>1</sup> Havell, *History of Indian Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 11-13

of the captor, and a cultivated land or the spoils of the plundering raids became the property of the raiders. In the beginning this system produced the ferocious bandits known as *rakshasas* or demons, and finally gave rise to the powerful Dravidian kingdoms which the Aryans subdued by their arms and intellect. But throughout the Dravidian civilization the original matriarchal principle remained as the basis of the law of inheritance and the foundation of religious beliefs.<sup>1</sup>

The Aryans, on the other hand, were a very cultured race, and had joint patriarchal families, which were grouped round the chieftain's hill fort. It was a centre for mutual defence, for common sacrifices and the meeting of the *sabha*, and the assembly of the members of their families. Their organization was highly scientific and based upon sanitary laws. They were inspired by lofty social and ethical ideals. According to their patriarchal system, the father was the head of the family, warrior and leader of the tribe. Cattle farming, and agriculture were their chief means of subsistence. There were predatory wars which were incidental to tribal quarrels, but these were not the chief ends of their existence. "They were," says Havell, "cheerful, and freedom-loving people, full of the joys of life, singing songs to their spirits who protected their families and cattle, and helped them in winning the fruits of the earth." They were kind to their non-Aryan neighbours whom they gradually civilized. In fighting with their enemies they were fierce and relentless, preferring death to dishonour. The earliest Aryan settlers were constantly pushed further south and east. Aryan culture was thus gradually differentiated from non-Aryan, not only by greater proficiency in the arts of peace and war, but also

<sup>1</sup> Havell, *History of Aryan Rule in India*, 12.

by the richness and variety of its agricultural resources : for the Aryans brought the millets, barley, wheat, and the oil-seeds of Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, to supplement indigenous rice crops of the non-Aryan agriculturists in the plains of India.<sup>1</sup>

The Aryans in the course of centuries became intermingled and assimilated with the Dravidians from whom the Indo-Aryan system was evolved. It had for its foundation, "The communal principle of the primitive Dravidian foreign settlement and for its superstructure the higher culture and organisation created by Aryan genius and dominated by Aryan spiritual ideals." In the scheme of Indo-Aryan civilisation the matriarchal system and the rudimentary culture of the Dravidian village retained their places. Dravidian kings were proud of their descent on their mother's side from ancient dynasties. Aryan forest hermits taught useful arts and higher spiritual truths in Dravidian village schools, so that the cruel "earth mother" came to be the bride of the Aryan sun-God and the bringer of prosperity. The "dread Durga" was transformed into the beauteous wife of the ascetic Siva, the teacher of spiritual wisdom, and the destroyer of ignorance.<sup>2</sup>

It is said, that at the time of Alexander's campaigns, the people of India had no remembrance of their origin, and they retained vague traditions of their barbarism. It was a favourable opportunity for the Aryans to impose their system of government upon the primitive organization of the village communities. Villages were generally federated for purposes of mutual protection under the rule of a rajah or king, who was either elected or made hereditary. He was invested with supreme authority, and was subject to the traditional law and custom. The villages were planted according to their model. The

<sup>1, 2</sup> Hayell, *History of Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 14-16.

typical form was a rectangular enclosure with the four sides derived from the fortified camp of their first invaders.

The sites of Aryan villages were chosen according to the principles of ritualistics and sanitation observed in the traditions of the Indo-Aryan master builder. They were generally on the bank of a river, by the side of the seashore or a lake, so that ample facilities for bathing were easily accessible. Bathing was regarded as a religious rite in itself and a necessary preliminary for sacrificial worship. The soil of the proposed site was examined to ascertain whether it was fit for cultivation, and whether good drinking water was procurable sufficiently near the surface.<sup>1</sup>

The houses of the villagers were the family property of the free men, and could not be alienated without the consent of the community. The public bathing places, parks or sacred groves and public orchards were grouped round these fixed points in various ways, according to the nature of the height and the social rank of the owners. The bazars occupied the blocks adjoining the village enclosures close to the main gate.<sup>2</sup>

There were also vast cultivable lands around the village boundaries which formed the joint property of the villagers and the common pasture ground of their cattle. They were properly watched or protected from wild beasts and hostile raiders. Watchmen were posted on the high tower or palisades over the village gateways. A general assembly of the freemen met together every year to elect the village council consisting of the five members who were supposed to represent the five social elements of the community, and to manage the affairs of the village in accordance with the Aryan law and custom.

"In regard to the organisation of the town and village, Sukraniti agrees with Arthashastra, the detailed planning of which is therein described. Wide roads were to be constructed to connect town and village. Bridges and ferries were to be provided for crossing rivers. The roads were to be constructed with a convex surface like a tortoise.

<sup>1</sup> Havell, *History of Aryan Rule in India* pp. 25.



They should have drains on both sides, and be repaired every year with stones or gravel by convict labour at the cost of the Royal treasury. Traveller's rest-house was to be provided between every two villages. It was to be kept clean and in good condition by the official in charge of it. He was also to scrutinize all travellers, record their names and permanent residence, take possession of their armour at night, and have the rest-house carefully guarded. The village headman should be like a father and mother to the people, and protect them 'from bandits, thieves, and officials.' The rights of the village community were thus safeguarded, and the principle of self-government was extended to crafts, guilds, banking and merchandise, co-operation and religious organisations. All disputes between members were settled according to custom and traditions of each of these bodies. In laying taxes upon the cultivator, the amount of his profits was taken into consideration."<sup>1</sup>

*Government of the village communities in South India under Aryan influence.*—The Dravidian tribes of South India adopted the Aryan ideals of polity and religion: but tenaciously clung to their own vernacular forms of expression, and also retained many of their customs and habits. In their temple records are still to be found detailed statements of the Indo-Aryan system of self-government, as outlined in the Arthashastra of Kautilya. There were, in South India, five great assemblies which held the power of kings in check, and they differed from the local assemblies which supervised the work of the village officers. The former was a kind of imperial parliament, and the members of it were immediately below the rank of ministers.<sup>2</sup>

The five classes that were represented were, first, the village communities, secondly, the priests, thirdly, the physicians, fourthly, astrologers, and fifthly, the king's executive officers. The physician looked after sanitation. The representatives of the first class, safeguarded the

<sup>1</sup> Havell: *History of Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 222-223.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.



rights and privileges of the people; those of the second class controlled public religious ceremonies and the administration of temples. The astrologers fixed the auspicious times for public ceremonies and foretold coming events. The king's officers supervised the collection and expenditure of the revenue and administration of justice. The *mantapams* of temples in South India were the local council chambers and town halls, the inscriptions on the walls of which indicate the nature of the village unions under the control of the king's officers that existed during the time of Chandragupta Maurya. They maintained the system in South India even in mediæval times. These village parliaments were responsible to the supreme government for the payment of the taxes due from village lands, and had complete control over the collection of them. The lands that were not reserved as belonging to the King were mostly dedicated to religious purposes, and they belonged to the assembly, and to the state. It was the same assembly that distributed the village lands among the cultivators, whenever fresh clearings were made or old lands confiscated for the non-payment of taxes. The King settled all important matters of dispute. The assemblies had their business transacted by means of committees in the same way as the affairs of Pataliputra were conducted in the fourth century B.C. The educational qualification of the members who formed the assembly were also taken into consideration. A Brahman without culture had no civil rights.

*Village Organisation in South India during Mediæval Periods.*—In connection with the village organization in early times, necessity for combination was felt for protection from wild beasts and predatory hordes. Sometimes

the tribal instinct for association played an important part in the formation of tribal groups. There were also cases in which the formation of new villages was encouraged by the rulers of the central government. It is said that during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya the following reference is seen about the formation of new villages. Foreigners and the people of the thickly populated centres were induced to occupy uninhabited localities, and very often villages on new sites or old ruins were organized by the influence of the rulers. Such villages consisted of 100 or 500 families of agricultural people of the Sudra Caste capable of protecting one another in localities with their boundaries marked by a river, a mountain, or forests. An instance of the King taking the initiative in the formation of a village, will be found in a South Indian inscription of the thirteenth century A.D. The village was intended to consist of 108 Brahmans. Sufficient land was purchased for the village sites to contain room for the erection of a temple, the house sites of the Brahmans and of the village servants. The lands were purchased from the titleholders and tenants with all their benefits and appurtenances. They were made over to the new settlers. Lands were also provided for grazing cattle, for the maintenance of the families of the new settlers, each of whom received a definite plot, and for the remuneration of the village officers and servants. There were two types of villages, one of which had its origin from the settlement, the members of which were closely related to one another by colonization or conquest, while the other could be traced to that of the individual settlers after clearing portions of jungles to meet their requirements.<sup>1</sup>

Villages were classified according to their size into three classes and for revenue purposes into five more.

<sup>1</sup> Havell, *History of Arjan Rule in India*, p.

Those that belonged to the former category, paid no taxes because of their being members of religious communities. To the second belonged, those who furnished soldiers to the army and were, on that account, exempted from payment of taxes. The villages of the third class paid their customary dues either in grain, cattle or raw materials; and the fourth, supplied free labour for public works or in the case of artisans for manufactured goods. The fifth were agricultural communities that furnished dairy produce to the ruling establishments.<sup>1</sup> There were also other groups of villages both for economic purposes and national defence. Among every ten villages there was one strongly fortified and this served as a common market and rallying place in time of war. A district with 200 villages had its markets and fort. A larger district and provincial capital with 800 villages around it had also similar and larger ones.<sup>2</sup>

*Village organization in modern times.*—A brief sketch of the origin and growth of the village communities in South India and the influences of the Aryans on their social, political and religious developments is given in the foregoing pages. It now remains for me to give a brief account of the persistence of the non-Aryan culture in spite of the chances of obliteration during the long lapse of time and the multifarious influences tending to modify it. In South India the three powerful kingdoms were Chera, Chola and Pandya. The first of these owing to its peculiar physical features and comparative isolation from other parts of India affords ample scope for an interesting ethnological study. The earliest inhabitants of the kingdom are now represented by the Palayans and the Parayans as well as the hill tribes, of which there are many groups. Some vestiges of the family and social

<sup>1</sup> Harell; History of Aryan Rule in India, pp. 70, 71.

the ryotwari system are unknown in Malabar in the early history of the Village Communities. The possession of land for agriculture must have been communal in the first stage, liable at a subsequent stage to subdivision and redistribution among the different families. This, in due course, leads to the evolution of private property as the result of effective occupation. In Malabar the earliest inhabitants were either partly reduced to subjugation and slavery, and partly driven to the hills, and hence there is no trace of the existence of private property either communal and individual.

*A kind of Feudalism.*—From the earliest times, even perhaps before the Aryan immigration, there appears to have been a complete and military organisation among the Sudras of Malabar. According to the old Dravidian system, the country was divided into *náds* or principalities, the smallest territorial unit of which was a *désom* or a village, presided over by a *náduvazhi* and *désavazhi* respectively. Each of the *náds* and *désoms* was designated by the allotted quota of Náyars it was required to put into the field, and the names of the divisions, even after the long lapse of time, were not forgotten. The authorities of the chiefs of these military divisions, large and small, were hereditary in their families with appropriate titles of distinction. They were not always in attendance on the Rajas in person. Their services were requisitioned for all offensive and defensive warfare. A chief was not considered a *náduvázhi* who had not at least a hundred soldiers under him, and one with less than that number was known as *désavázhi*. There were in those days, no taxes levied from the people, and the chief from the rajas down to *désavázhi*, possessed demesne lands for their support which were either cultivated by themselves or leased out to *kudians* or tenants. There were other

sources of income, based on feudal rights and privileges. Even in social matters these chieftains had supreme powers. In the settlement of marriages in any part of the country, the Náyers had to obtain permission of the chieftain who held sway over the particular locality. The custom is even now in vogue thoroughly in a visibly weakened form. In the *Kettukalyanam* or *Sambandham* in any part of the country, the parties concerned, had to visit the chieftain with presents and to obtain his consent. For without his consent, no settlement nor celebration could be arranged, and his consent had to be obtained even for celebration of the festival.<sup>1</sup>

It has been already said, that the village organisation was, in a way, allied to those in Tamil districts, and that the earliest social organisation was apparently based upon the family groups in which the various groups, tribes or castes divided themselves each with its more or less well defined territorial limits. The Brahmans were grouped in *grámams* and the Nayars in *tharas*, or *cheries* and, the low castemen at respective distances from them. Thus an old typical village was one which consisted of the houses of the military classes and those of low castes, the members of which, like the medieval guilds were bound together by the ties of common interests, rendering to one another reciprocal services for the share of the village produce, and for the protection which they enjoyed. The village in fact contained all the rudiments of the state. The village life is simple, delightful, and charming, but is gradually passing away under the influence of modern civilization. Village education, village pastimes and games are all important. Space forbids me to give an account of them here. The reader is referred to the *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 60-76.

<sup>1</sup> The *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, pp. 60-61.





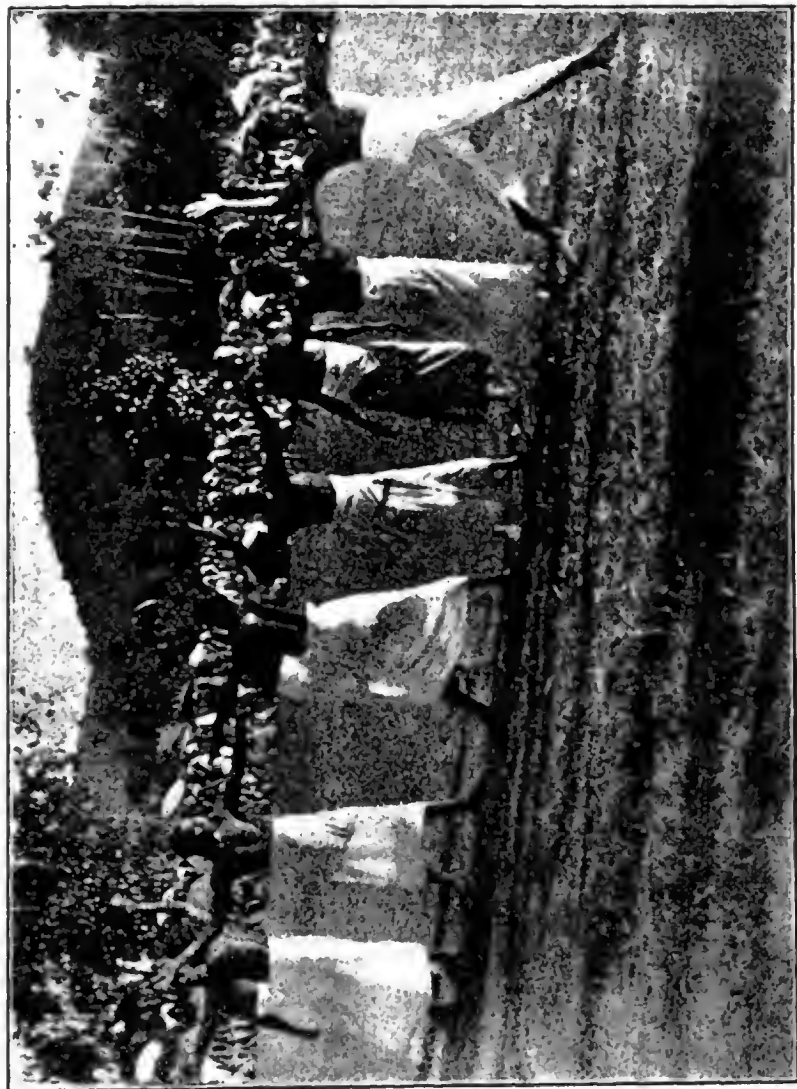
A Procession with a herd of elephants all decorated, and with the deity on one of them, Ārāttupuzha Pūram, Cochin State

*Village Godlings, Shrines and Festivals:* Bishop Caldwell, on the basis of philology tried to investigate the primitive Dravidian beliefs and concluded, that the early Dravidians had no idea of heaven and hell nor of the soul. They believed in the existence of a God whom they called "*Ko*" or "*King*," and whose house was styled as *Koil*. Their religion was animism which consisted of the worship of the elements and spirits. The latter formed their demonolatriy which was very much allied to the *shamanism* of Northern Asia. From the adoption of settled life and commencement of agriculture, arose the adoration of the Earth Mother, and the earth deity was spiritualised as female (Tylor, I, p. 326). It has been also suggested with some degree of probability that the predominance of mother worship in India and elsewhere represents a survival of matriarchate which prevailed in India at one time. (Risley and Gait, Census Report, Part I, p 448.) The idea of fertility of the earth is connected with that of the female. It is the early Dravidians who, like the Romans, thought that the earth after every successive harvest becomes exhausted, and that she should be coaxed and roused to activity in order that she might again yield abundance of crops. The dances of the Kol and Oraon women kneeling and patting the ground signify their coaxing of the deity to give them more during the ensuing season. Further the fertility of the soil was also supposed to depend upon the periodical marriage of the mother earth with her male consort, and the festival of marriage is celebrated by many of the tribes in India. At the end of *Makaram* January-February when the agricultural year is over in Malabar, until the first showers begin, the mother earth is supposed to take rest. During the last three days of the month the Goddess is supposed to be in her menses, and a festival



is celebrated in her honour by closing the granaries with no sale of paddy during the period. No agricultural implement is touched during these days, nor even the rice for consumption in families is pounded beforehand.

The Mother Earth is conceived as a deity, and is supposed to possess two aspects, and her manifestations in both are infinitely varied. In her benevolent aspect she is the mother of all things, giver of corn, producer of fertility in man and beast. In her malevolent mood she is ever disposed to do him harm, and has to be coaxed and propitiated by offerings. To the former belong Devi, Bhagavathi, Lakshmi, Kanyakumari, Saraswati, and many others; and the latter, Durga, Kali or Mahākālī, Piddāri, Rajasi (fierce), Chamundi (slayer of demons), Raktadanti (bloody-toothed), and many others. In fact her names are a legion, varying from place to place and from district to district. It is quite probable that originally in South India the village Goddesses had quite simple names such as *Urramma* or *Grāma Dēvata*, both meaning village goddess, and that the villagers give special names to their own guardian deities. All over South India at present, the village gods and goddesses are many, good, bad and indifferent, and are thus called by different names in different places. Mahakali or Kālī is the most important of them. She is the protectress against evil spirits that haunt the forests and desolate places. She is supposed to be the goddess of boundaries also. Next in importance is the much dreaded Māri Amman, or Sitalā Dēvi or small-pox demon, and many more. They have their male attendants Madurai Viran, Karuppannan and Mundian. The position of Ayyanar or Ayyappan is higher and independent. The shrines of these goddesses are represented either by some stone images or heaps of stones placed on a raised platform of granite,



Wrestling in a Village during the Onam Festival, Cochin State



brickwork or earth underneath a shady tree, and are sometimes walled around, leaving a gateway on one side. These shrines are called *Kāvus* in Malabar. Ayyappan has special shrines, and in his enclosure are often found clay figures of horses, big and small, intended for him to ride round the village to discharge his nocturnal duties of keeping off the evil spirits. Then there are demons whose names are a legion and some are supposed to preside over certain kinds of diseases. Mari Amman or the small-pox demon, is the foremost of them. In times of small-pox, plague or cholera, her protection is sought after. Generally during the months of March, April and May, when the harvests are over, village folk have abundance of food and leisure. It is during this period that the festival is celebrated in her honour as thanksgiving for the supply of food and with a request to protect them from the attacks of epidemics. A brief account of the festival that has come under my observation is herein given. In front of the shrine of Māri Amman, a pandal is put up and decorated. A member of the village, usually a pious devotee is chosen as *pujari* or priest. He bathes in the early morning, and is under a vow of abstaining from meat during the days of the festival which lasts for three, five or seven days, varying according to the funds at their disposal for its celebration. A brass or copper vessel of water (*karagam*) is taken from the neighbouring river or tank, and a bunch of margosa leaves is inserted into the mouth. The vessel is neatly decorated. Placing the *Karagam* on his head at an auspicious hour, the *pujāri* dressed in a cloth dyed yellow, proceeds to the village in procession with his fellow caste-men, some of whom, provided with tabors play in accompaniment to his occasional dancing. He becomes inspired, and replies to the consultations made to him by the village folk.

The night is spent in dancing and singing, in honour of the deity. On the night of the last day a grand procession is organised. The *pujari* sets out in procession with grand illuminations, and beating of drums. After the usual *pujas*, the *pajari* dressed as before, sets out in procession, accompanied by the village folk, some of whom play on their tabors close to him. The excitement caused by singing and playing on their musical instruments leads to dancing, and sometimes they also dance round him. Thus the procession passes round the village and finally returns to the shrine, after which goats, as many as they can afford, are slaughtered, and the blood is either collected in a vessel or mixed with rice to be thrown in the shrine for the deity or on the limits of the village for the demons. Finally the *pujāri* becomes inspired and speaks out the will of the goddess about her satisfaction and ensures prosperity during the coming year. Great care is taken about the choice of goats for slaughter. They are brought before the deity for sacrifice. If they shake violently when pure water or water in which turmeric is dissolved, is sprinkled on them, it signifies that the deity is pleased. If they do not shake, some evil is foreboded. Thus every village has festivals more or less of the same kind. In Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, the village festivals are known as *purams* and *velas*, and an account of them may be found in the two volumes of the Cochin Tribes and Castes.

In this connection it must be said that there are two different kinds of culture on the plains of South India, each borrowing something from the other, and this process has been, and is still slowly going on. Some of the village godlings and goddesses have entered into the worship of the Brahmans. The ferocious nature of Durga, Kali, has been transformed into the mild

nature of Sānti Durga Parameswari, Lakshmi, Saraswati, Mīnakshi, Kāmakshi and Kālliani, with a routine dietary of vegetable products as substitutes. The village representatives of the non-Aryan races, on the contrary have been and are still borrowing the higher forms of worship, from the Brahmans. Nevertheless a primitive substratum still persists, and affords ample scope for the students of Ethnography for a first-hand study of the different grades of culture.

*Group Solidarity.*—It is a characteristic of the primitive society that a member of a tribe considers that he forms part and parcel of the tribe, and never considers himself as a separate unit. He and the members of the community have a headman who is the representative of the outside world. It has been said that a tribal group is a social unit with vague unwritten laws the violation of which brings on serious punishment. Social solidarity is maintained by the idea of vicariousness which makes it the business of every man to see that his neighbour respects the laws. This is very prominently seen in the social and religious organisation of the inhabitants of every village.

*Conclusion.*—It is very probable that at the outset, the primitive village must have consisted of a group of families based on kinship or common descent which was forgotten in course of time. Two types of villages, one possessing collective ownership and the other with independent holdings, existed at a remote period. Very probably the latter might have been an evolution of the former. The original villages were those founded by the Dravidian races among whom matriarchate prevailed. They were nomad hunters living in the forests and gradually turned to agriculture which was their chief occupation. They were considerably civilized by the Aryans who imposed their culture also on them. They

had a central government for the determination of their settlements and boundaries. In course of time every village became an autonomous institution, and contained all the rudiments of the state. A kind of feudalism existed in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. In spite of the multifarious outside influences during the long lapse of time, the village still retains its social life to a certain extent even at present.

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## Comparative Terms of Relationship.

No.	Terms of Relationship.	Sanskrit.	Tamil Brahmins.	Telugu Brahmannulu.	Canarese Brahmanas.	Nimbudri Brahmins.
1	Father's father's father (Great grandfather).	Prapithamaha	Kol-Pattan	...	Muthanja Muthatha.	or
2	Father's father (Grandfather)	Pithamaha	Pattan	Thatha or Tata	Ajja or Thatha	Muthaschan (elder father).
3	Father	Pitha	Thakappan or Appan	Nayana, Taodri	Appa or Thande	Aschan
4	Father's mother's mother (Great grandmother).	Prapithamahi	Kol-patti	...	...	...
5	Father's mother	Pithamahi	Patti	Mamma	Ajji or Thayi	Muthaschi (elder mother).
6	Mother	Mata	Amma	Amma	Amma	Amma
7	Father's brother	Pitravyan, Jyeshtan Kanshtan.	Perinappa (if elder). Chittappa (if younger).	Nayana, Pedda (if elder). Chinna (if younger).	Appa (Dodda) if elder. Appa (Cikka) if younger.	Appan
8	Father's brother's wife	Pithruya Patni	Poramma (if elder). Chittamma (if younger).	Pedamma (if elder). Chittamma (if younger).	Doddamma (if elder). Chikkamma (if younger).	Valamma (if elder) Choramma (if younger).
9	Father's brother's son	Pithruya Puthran	Annan (if elder). Thambi (if younger)	Anna (if elder). Tannudi (if younger).	Doddanna (if elder) Chikkanna (if younger).	Jeshtan Anujan
10	Father's brother's daughter	Pithruya Puthri	Akkal (if elder). Than- kachi or Ankachi (if younger)	Akka (if elder). Chellala (if younger)	Akka (if elder). Thangi younger.	Jyeshthi Anuja- thi.



## Comparative Terms of Relationship—contd.

No.	Terms of Relationship.	Sanskrit.	Tamil Brahmins.	Telugu Brahmanulu.	Canarese Brahmins.	Nambudri Brahmins.
11	Father's sister	Pithrubhagani	Athai ...	Atta ...	Sodar Athai	Aschan Pengal
12	Father's sister's husband	Pithru-bhagani-bhartha	Athimbiyar	Mama ...	Sodar Mama	Mere name of the illam (house).
13	Father's sister's son	Pithru-bhagani-putran.	Athan ...	Bava ...	Sodar Aliya	Jyeshtan or Anujan
14	Father's sister's daughter	Pithru-bhagani-puthri	Athaagal	Vadina	Sodar Soes	Jyeshtati or Annjathi.
15	Mother's father's father (Great grandfather).	Mathn-prapitha-mahan.	Kol-patta	Peddattata	...	...
16	Mother's father (Grand-father).	Mathn-pithamahan	Pattan or Thatha	Thatha	Ajja	Muthaschan
17	Mother's mother (Grand-mother).	Mathamahi	Patti ...	Ammamma	Ajji	Muthaschi
18	Mother's brother	Mathulan	Mama ...	Mama ...	Sodar mama	Ammaman
19	Mother's brother's wife	Mathuli	Mami or Ammami	Atti ...	Sodera Athai	Ammayi
20	Mother's brother's son	Mathula-putran	Ammanchi	Bava ...	Sodera Aliya	Jyeshtan or Anujan
21	Mother's brother's daughter	Mathula-puthri	Ammaagal	Vadina	Sodera Soti	Jyeshtathi or Anujuthi
22	Mother's sister	Mathrasasana	Periamma (if elder). Chittamma (if younger).	Doddamma (if elder) Abbutchi or Pin. namma Doddappa.	Doddamma (if elder) Chikkamma (if younger).	Aminna-utaperannaval.
23	Mother's sister's husband	Mathrasasur-bhartha.	Periappa (if elder). Chittappa (if younger).	Kakkayya do. (Pinna).	Doddappa (if elder). Chikkanna (if younger).	Mere name of the illam (house).

24	Mother's sister's son	...	Mathrushwasu- putran.	Anna, (if elder). Thambi (if younger).	Anna, Tannudu ...	Anna (if elder), Thamma (if younger)	Jyeshtan or Anujan
25	Mother's sister's daughter	...	Mathrushwasu- putri.	Akkal (if elder), Ankichi (if younger).	Akka, Chellalu ...	Akka (if elder), Thangi (if younger).	Jyeshthathi, or Anu- jathi
26	Brother	...	Jyeshthan or Anujan	Annen (if elder), Tharbi (if younger).	Anna or Tannudu ...	Anna or Thamma...	Jyeshthan or Anujan
27	Sister	...	Bhaganis, or Swasa	Akkal (if elder), Ankichi (if younger).	Akka or Chellalu ...	Akka or Thangi ...	Jyeshthathi or Anuja- thi
28	Wife	...	Bharya	Amutayal (owner of the house).	Berhya or Pendlamu	Hendati	Bharya
29	Wife's father	...	Swasur	Mama or Mamannar	Mama	Heenukotta Mava...	Muthaschan
30	Wife's mother	...	Swasuri	Mami or Mamiyar	Atta	Do. Atte ...	Muthaschi
31	Wife's sister	...	Bharya sabodari	Maohini	Vadina	Nadini	No special name
32	Wife's sister's husband	...	Bharya sabodari- Bhartha.	Shaddakan	Todalludu	Shaddaka	Do.
33	Wife's sister's son	...	Bharya sabodari putran.	No name	No name	Shaddakana Mags	Do.
34	Wife's sister's daughter	...	Bharya sabodati puthri.	Do.	Do.	Shaddakana Magalu	Do.
35	Husband	...	Bharta	Ahamutayan	Penimiti	Ganda	...
36	Husband's father	...	Swasru	Mamanar	Mama	Mava	Bharta
37	Husband's mother	...	Swasuri	Mamiy	Atta	Atte	No special name
38	Husband's brother	...	Bharthru sabodaran	Machinan, Kozhun- than.	Bava	Maiduna	Do.

## Comparative Terms of Relationship—contd.

No.	Terms of Relationship.	Sanskrit.	Tamil Brahmins.	Telugu Brahmanas.	Canarese Brahmins.	Nambudri Brahmins.
39	Husband's brother's wife ...	Bharthru sahodara-patri.	Orpadi	...	Maidunana Hendati	No special name
40	Husband's brother's son ...	Bharthru sahodara putran.	No name	No name	Maidunana Maga ...	Do.
41	Husband's brother's daughter	Bharthru sahodara putri.	No name	No name	Maidunana Magalu	Do.
42	Husband's sister	Bharthru sahodari putran.	Nathanar	Ada bidda	Nadini	Do.
43	Husband's sister's daughter	Do.	Maruman	Mesakodala	Nadini Maga or Magalu.	Do.
44	Son ...	Putran	Pulley	Kumarada	Maga.	Magan
45	Son's son ...	Pontran	Peran	Manumada	Nommaga	Son's son's son—Mummaga.
46	Son's daughter ...	Ponthri	Pethi ...	Manumarala	Mommagalu	Son's son's daughter—Mummagalu.
47	Daughter ...	Puthri	Pen ...	Kutira	Magalu	Maga
48	Daughter's son ...	Dowbithran	Peran ...	Manumala	Magala Mag or Nommaga.	No special name
49	Daughter's daughter	Dowbithri	Pethi ...	Manumarala	Magala Magalu or Mommagalu.	lanthri
50	Brother's son ...	Sahodara putran...	No name	No name	Thammuna Maga ...	No special name
51	Brother's daughter	Do.	No name	No name	Thammuna or Annana	Do.
52	Sister's son ...	Bhagineyan	Maruman	Menallin	Akka or Thangi Maga.	Marumagan
53	Sister's daughter	Bhagineyi	Marumal	Mesakodala	Akka or Thangi Magalu.	Marumagal
54	Son-in-law ...	Jamatha	Mappiny	Alinda	Aliya ...	Marumagan
55	Daughter-in-law	Snnaha	Natin pon	Kodala	Soso ...	Marumagal

No.	Names.	Terms of relationship.			
		Bengali.	Hindi.	Urīya.	Maithilī Brahmin.
1	Father's father	... ..	Pitāmaha, Thākurdādā ..	... ..	Baba
2	Father's mother	... ..	Pitāmāhī, Thākurmā ..	... ..	Māyica
3	Father	... ..	Pitā, Bābā ..	... ..	Baboo
4	Mother	... ..	Mātā, Mā ..	... ..	Mā
5	Father's brother	... ..	Khudā, Kākā ..	... ..	Kaka
6	Father's brother's wife	... ..	Khudī, Kākī ..	... ..	Kakī
7	Father's brother's son	... ..	Bhāi (khudatā) ..	... ..	Pitot Bhai
8	Father's brother's daughter	... ..	Bhagini (Do.) ..	... ..	" Bāin
9	Father's sister	... ..	Pisī ..	... ..	Didi
10	Father's sister's husband	... ..	Pisī ..	... ..	Pisā
11	Father's sister's son	... ..	Bhāi (Pisātā) ..	... ..	Pisoto Bhai
12	Father's sister's daughter	... ..	Bhagini (Do.) ..	... ..	" Bāin
13	Mother's father	... ..	Māmāba (or Mājā) ..	... ..	Nāna or Baba
14	Mother's mother	... ..	Māmāhī (or Mājī) ..	... ..	Nani or Māyā
15	Mother's brother	... ..	Māmā, Mātul ..	... ..	Mama

No.	Names.	Terms of relationship.				Maithil Brahmin.
		Bengali.	Hindi.	Uriya.		
16	Mother's brother's wife ...	Mami, Matulanai	Mami ...	Maie ...	...	Mami
17	Mother's brother's son ...	Bhai (Mamto)	Mamera (Bhai)	Bhai ...	...	Mamioto Bhai
18	Mother's brother's daughter ...	Bhagini (Do.)	" Bohan	Apa ...	...	" Bahin
19	Mother's sister ...	Masi	Masi ...	Masi ...	...	Monsi
20	Mother's sister's husband ...	Meso	Mouso ...	Mouso ...	...	Mausa
21	Mother's sister's son ...	Bhai (Masato)	.....	Bhai ...	...	Mausioto Bhai
22	Mother's sister's daughter ...	Bhagini (Do.)	.....	Apa ...	...	" Bahin
23	Brother ...	Bhai, Bhrata	Bhaiya	Bhai ...	...	Bhai
24	Brother's son ...	Bhai, Bhratasputra	.....	Putra ...	...	Bhatija
25	Brother's daughter ...	Bhatiji, Bhratasputri	...	Jheari ...	...	Bhatijbi
26	Sister ...	Bhagini, Bon	Bohan, Bohin	Apa ...	...	Dai, Bahin
27	Sister's son ...	Bhagineya ...	Vaunga	Vonoja	...	Bhagina
28	Sister's daughter ...	Bhagineyi ...	Vaungee	Vanijee	...	Bhagni
29	Wife ...	Stri	Joru ...	Ban ...	...	Ban
30	Wife's brother ...	Svalak, Sals	Sala ...	Saula ...	...	Sala
31	Wife's mother ...	Svalari	Shash ...	(Ma) No name	...	Shash

32	Wife's sister ...	...	Sali	...	Sali	Jat sali (elder)	...	Sali
33	Wife's sister's son	...	...	.....	...	Putra ...	...	Salir ohéié
34	Wife's sister's daughter	...	...	.....	...	Jheari ...	...	Salir Meiya
35	Husband	...	...	...	...	Swami ...	...	Swami
36	Husband's father	...	...	...	...	Svasur	...	Baboo, Svasur
37	Husband's mother	...	...	...	...	Svasuri	...	Mamiya, Svasuri
38	Husband's brother	...	...	...	...	Apa Shan	...	Dacor, Baboo
39	Husband's brother's wife	...	...	...	...	Shau Bau (younger)	...	Deadni
40	Husband's brother's son	...	...	...	...	Putra ...	...	Jaut
41	Husband's brother's daughter	...	...	...	...	Jheari ...	...	Jaidhi
42	Husband's sister	...	...	...	...	Gharjia	...	Dai, Nanad
43	Husband's sister's son	...	...	...	...	Bhanja	...	Bhagina
44	Husband's sister's daughter	...	...	...	...	Vanjee	...	Bhagini
45	Son	...	...	...	...	Putra ...	...	Baboo, Bacha
46	Son's son	...	...	...	...	Natin ...	...	Natio, called as Baboo
47	Son's daughter	...	...	...	...	Natani	...	Natneo { called as Dai or Bacha.
48	Daughter	...	...	...	...	Kanya	...	Dai
49	Daughter's son	...	...	...	...	Nati ...	...	Natio
50	Daughter's daughter	...	...	...	...	Natani	...	Natin

## Comparative terms of Relationship—concl.

No.	Names.	Terms of relationship.			
		Bengali.	Hindi.	Uriya.	Maithil Brahmin.
51	Son-in-law ...	Jāmātā ...	Darmad ...	Juino ...	Jamwica
52	Daughter-in-law ...	Badhū ...	(Bahū) Patahoo ...	Pa Ban	Pootan
53	Wife's brother ...	Sālā ...	.....	Saula ...	Sala
54	Wife's brother's son ...	.....	.....	Putra ...	Sar Neta
55	Wife's brother's daughter ...	.....	.....	Jhōari ...	Sar Beti
56	Wife's sister's husband ...	Bhāyarabhai	... ..	Shāju	Sarhu
57	Wife's father ...	.....	.....	.....	Sasar (called as Baboo, or Kaka
58	.....	.....	.....	.....	... ..
59	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

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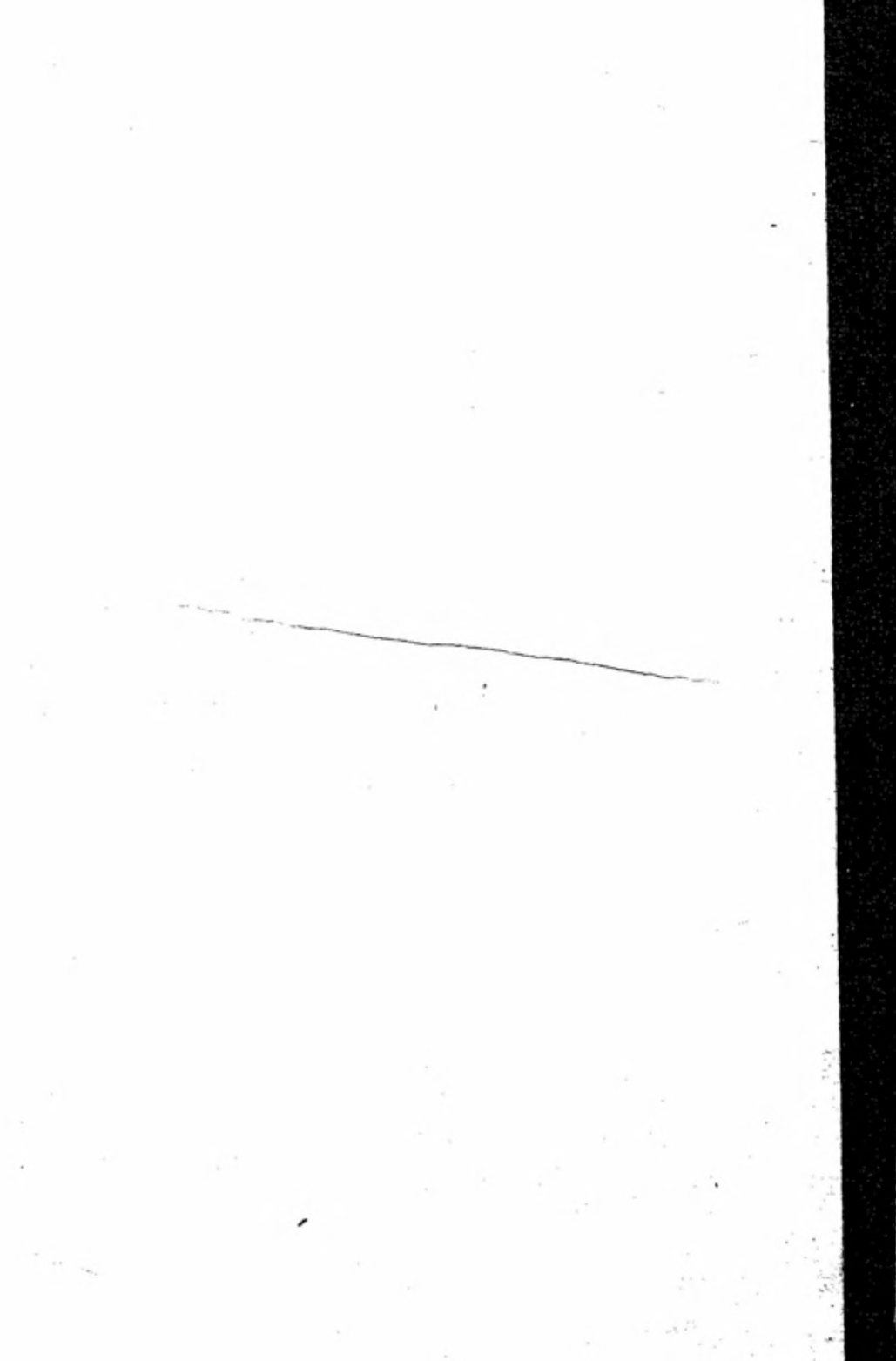




# ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	For.	Read.
2	22	others	other
6	1	paleontologiical	palaeontological
21	4	mean	man
25	27	varions	various
28	16	Dr. Bois	Du Bois
31	4	Charateristics	Characteristics
49	2		insert 'hair' before either.
61	4	restorting	restoring
74	19	obligations	obligation
83	18	the with	with the
88	11	woman	women
101	2	sexnnal	sexual
103	3	rgarded	regarded
104	16	him	them
113	14	convade	couvade
125	8		Omit "as well as" in B. Malabar
133	16	Tribesh	Tribes
	18	Fision	Fison
148	17	Lwteurneae	Laterneau
	30	meaus	means
161	30	tuli	tali
164	22		Omit "the" after "waa."
180	24		Insert "of" after "features."
200	28	disceases	diseases
228	9	paintaing	painting
	30	scaring	scarring
229	15	Paapuans	Papuans
257	1		Omit "the" before <i>ryotwari</i> .
263	17	socia	Social.





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